KING OF KINGS:

OR

The Soveraignty of *Salus Populi*, over all Kings, Princes, and Powers whatsoever.

LIKEWISE,

Divers clear, solid, and sober ARGUMENTS and REASONS against the Claims of *Charls Stuart*, or any of that Race to the Government of *England*, &c.

Proving also, that its *Treason* in *Him*, so in his Siders with, and Seconders, to attempt it under what specious pretences soever.

Lastly, making it good against all *Opposers*, that his *Highness* the Lord PROTECTOR, hath a true and undeniable Right to the Government of *England*.

Written on purpose to satisfie the judgements and consciences of all sorts, whether Religious, or Royalist, or any other Adversary whatsoever, about the great and weighty *Question* of this time, *viz. who it is that hath* Right *to the* Government, *&c.* And thereby to check all trecherous Pretences and Proceedings about the same, that so our *Country* may be kept in peace and quiet.

Besides divers other *useful* Passages to affect the *Reader*.

Better it is, that one Man *die (much more lose his* Right, *if any) then the whole* Nation *perish, to* in-right Him.

Courteous Reader, Read, I heartily entreat thee, both the Epistle to the Reader, and the Contents also, for they will I hope not only content thee, but give thee light also into what follows, as into the Book following

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LONDON, Printed for the Author, and sold by *Ralph Hartford*, at the *States Arms* in Little Britain, 1655.

TO HIS HIGHNES, THE Lord Protector.

May it please Your *Highnes*,

SHould I either of ignorance, or as fearing to presume (as it may be call'd) not Dedicate this to You, yet the thing it self so relates to Your Highnes, *as that it self-ly doth it, do I what I can: I hope then it will not be notion'd* Presumption, *if* I *bear it company, and come along with it in these Lines, reverently to dictate for it, as* Aaron *for* Moses, *also, as so postur'd, to wait*

on your Highness, and withal, to a due pardon, if I make bold to subscribe myself

Your *Highness* most humble Servant,

S. H.

To the READER.

Courteous Reader,

IT hath been, and is at this instant, the great Controversie of this *Nation*, who it is that hath right to the *Government*, &c. and offensive Arms are taken up in behalf of *Ch. Stuart*, under pretense of his right thereto, which enforceth defensive Arms to oppose *Him*, as having no such right, also to prevent factioning for *Him*, to the endangering our Countries to ruine. Our *Intention* in this following Tract, is, to clear this *Point* so fully, as that the weakest capacity may (if not wilfully blind) plainly see it; Our *Hopes* are, that when its so resolved, they will then side with the right side, for *Right* sake, so for their own, and their *Countries* peace and safeties sake, and to save it, and themselves, and theirs from *Ruine*. Courteous *Reader*, Read through I pray thee, before thou judgest, the Roman and Pagan *Laws* enjoyn thee to do so, how then do the Christian Laws of Justice and Charity? So that, if this or that distaste thee, or resolve thee not, thou yet shalt I hope be pleased in both, before thou hast done, and so I have done, and rest thine. And yet

Courteous Reader, I must make bold, for a few words more, I heartily entreat thee, of thy humanity and civility to excuse the common and trivial slips of Orthography and Pointing, *&c.* so if some Capitals should want their Italica distinctions and ornaments, the like for Method, all which though useful and pleasing, yet

are

[illegible]
stance, as Rose-leaves, and Verge-fait are to a sound and wholsome dish of meat; yet would I have accomodated thee with those also, but necessitated interruptions checkt me. In short, let thy goodness excuse our failings, and accept well our fair intentions and endeavours, though they want the beauty of taking [illegible] which hides almost all other defects; and yet the truth is, I aymed aimed both at Reason and Rhethorick, but principally the first, as first in worth and chief [illegible] for let all know, that its an easie business to write Histories, or Relations, which is but to tell Tales finely, and nothing of self abilities, except trimness of rendring, but those that define, bound, and circumscribe aright, had need to have the spirit, the soul, and energie of Reason, for nothing is so deep, so high, so soaring, and searching, nor so approaching to a God, as is god-like Reason. As for Rhethorick, its a fine, a nice, a beautiful vanity, But to Reason (say all sorts what they please) all Powers Mortal, or Immortal (but the Immortal God) must stoop, and do homage to; and yet this Romish Harlot Rhetorick, hath by her Paintings, and Dressings, and her Wiles and Impostures, for Impost sake, as for silver shrines, soveraignty and salary, got the start or better of her, cause most men are bad and naught in points of intentions or judgements; and now *adieu*,

S. H.

The Contents of the Book.

1.

His Highness Right to the Government is made good at Sect. 43. *to* 53. *so at* 78. *All Objections against Him are answered as they fall out.*

2. *That neither* Charls Stuart, *or any of that Race, have now any Right thereto, is made apparent at* Sect. 75. *to* 78. *So* Sect. 16. *to* 18. *&c.*

3. *What unjust Usurpation is,* Sect. 101. *which quits his* Highness, *besides the References for his Rights afore.*

4. *What Arbytrarie Government is, which also quits his Highness, so any Governour so governing, though Law with our cautions be deviated or declined.*

5. Moses-*story-storyed, or set out: see at* Sect. 79. *which suits with his Highness case and condition at this time.*

6. *The grand and puzzling question,* viz. *who shall be Judge in all Disputes, Things, Cases, Questions, and Controversies; resolved at* Sect. 83.

7. *The power and place of the Universal and Highest Publike Judge, or Magistrate,* Sect. 102.

8. *Many useful things concerning Law, and Lawyers, and other requisites you shall find here and there.*

9. *The Soveraignty of* Salus Populi, *or the publike Peace and Welfare is made good by* Sect. 2, *to* Sect. 18.

10. *An Answer to those who except against our Armies, or Forces by Land and Sea, and Taxes thereon, see* Sect. 72. *and that they are slaves, and not Free-men.*

11. *Some*

11. *Some Usefulls of Magna Charta*, Sect. 106. to [illegible]

12. *An humble Addresment to his Highness, or any Governour, in behalf of the People, for remedy of things amiss, and to prevent clandestine, and any treacherous plots to assasinate, or the Insurrections of the people; so all bold, impudent, uncivil, rude, and Boorish clamours and exclamations to incense the People to an endangering the Peace and safety of the Nation*, Sect. 124.

13. *An answer to the exceptions against such an Addresment*, Sect. 125.

14. *An Addresment to all Forraign States, Kings, Princes, or Governours whatsoever, in behalf of their People, &c.* Sect. 126.

15. *An Apologie to all our worthy Commanders, Captains, Officers, and common Souldiers to satisfie them why we attribute all the brave atchievements, to his Highness name only*, Sect. 127.

16. *A Caution to Lawyers*, Sect. 114.

17. *A Paradoxical conclusion*, 128.

Salus

SALVS,

HER

SOVERAIGNTY, &c.

Sect. 1.

WE are constrained by the ignorance and pravity of the *Multitude*, to *Tautologize* it in repetitions, even to a wearying of our *selves* and the *world* with words, and yet it will not do, and therefore we must yet do it; So we are forced to present our selves on the *Theater* once more in behalf of * *Salus* her *Soveraignty*, so in behalf of *Salus* her * *Soveraign*, &c.

* *The peoples safety and welfare.*

* *The Governour.*

Her *Soveraignty* we make good by the Arguments following. His by *Sect.* 43. to 53. so 78. to 83.

§ 2. We wil first begin with *Scripture* Arguments the better to infallible it, yet as fortified with right *Reason* also, in things of this nature, else were they forfeited, &c. We will next pursue it with right *Reason*, which wil *self-ly* infallible it, yet not to the * *self-ish*; but together we dare inscribe it with----*Scriptum est.*

* *Ignorants and conceiteds*

For *Scripture*.

§ 3. *Christ* saith, the *Sabbath* was made for *man*, yea for *Individuals*, how then for the *Universal*. It was made for him chiefly in points of humanity, as in Acts and Offices of Mercy, Charity, Love, Justice, and just necessities, see *Deut.* 5. That thou and thine, both servants and beasts may rest, and remember that thou wast a servant in *Egypt*, and how acceptable and welcome *Rest* was, or would have been to thee, &c.

4. Thus, in just competition, all things comply to *Humane* necessities, and God is then best served, in the omission of *Sacrifice* for *Mercy*, so you cannot glorifie, honour, serve, love, obey, and worship God better, then to decline him, and incline to, or prefer Mercy before Sacrifice, that is, wave the Sabbath in its religious rites, duties, and observations, if they clash with *Mercy*, make God then on just occasions and grounds, a God of mercy, and you magnifie him most, for his *mercy* is above all his *works*, and doth *magnificent* him, but yet take heed you incroach not on *mercy*'s good nature beyond our cautions, which if you do, Justice will be meet with you, for thee is bound not to see *Mercy* abused.

5. Again, its better that one *man* die, then all the *people* perish, and now all the *people* must perish, to inright one unrighteous *man*.

6. The *Man* then to die, was a righteous *Man*, the *People* he was to die for, were most unrighteous, & yet he must *die*, that they may *live*. Now all the righteous people must *die*, for one unrighteous *man*, that he may live, to live on them, and Lord it over them.

7. The *Man* then to die, was a *God* also, the *People* he was to die for, were * *Divels*, and yet he must die, but now, &c.

* By degenerating.

9. Thus

9. Thus much for *Scripture* Arguments in behalf of *Salus* Soveraignty, as justly necessitated: We come next to right *Reason*, which agrees with *Scriptures*, so its the same in Nature, though not in Name.

10. Right Reason saith then, That *Physick* and *Food* are servants to their ends, *life* and *health*: So *Kings*, *Princes*, and *Powers*, are the like to the Peoples safety and welfare; there being no other end and use of them as such, but such, &c.

11. Moreover, we see that all sorts do, and must one ways or other as they are able, venture their single Individual persons, lives, estates, and rights for the Publike, or may be justly enforc'd, else the Publike might perish, and so the Individuals thereof.

12. *Magna Charta*, so Law, Priviledges, and Rights, are pleadable twixt Individuals, and justice is their due accordingly; but not by any one against the highest publike Governour, in opposition to publike necessities, or as they clash therewith, of which, how, and on what terms he is Judge, judge ye by *Sett.* 83. &c.

13. Here no Law for, or if a Law against, is of no value, the *Principality* of our *Principle* will not allow thereof, as you shall find ere we have done, and you do find afore what God hath, doth, and will do in the like case, in what relates to him. In short, we cannot allow *Law*, which is but a bare name, a very nullity in this case, a dead thing, enlivened onely by letters and words, but most by *opinion*, to *Lord* it over its * *Lord*, whose servant it is, and by and for whom it was made, and may (if it carry it self amiss) be chasti sed: Sure it was not rais'd to raze him, &c. The Parliament Law-makers, were Law-breakers, as the Publike was necessitated. * the Publick.

15. I conceive by all the aforesaids, that *Salus* Soveraignty stands clear, and is apparent, and so who are true, and who are Traytors thereto; so that now we may venture to inscribe it with *Scriptum est.*

We next reason and infer from the aforesaids as followeth,

That

16. Seing *God* and his *Laws*, so *Religion*, *Reason*, the *Sabbath*, and *Sacrifice*, likewise *Individual* rights, yea the very lives, honours, and estates of good, honest, just and innocent men, have, do, and must on just necessities, lose and decline all self-rights, and comply to necessitated *Salus*. What then can nocent *Charls Stuart*, or his siders with, say for themselves, who for forfeited deputative Rights, forfeit their faith, love and loyalty to their Lord, the *Publike* welfare, by exigenting it to intolerable sufferings and dangers, yea to ruine by factioning their Country into Divisions and Parties one against another in an hostile way? Do they not by this render themselves *Traytors*, as contrary to trust, duty, and engagement, to *trecherize* it? Are they not *Murtherers* and *Thievs* of all slain, and lost, and taken from on both sides, as inforcers thereto? I appeal.

Again,

17. His Right to the *Crown* is not Natural, or selfly Hereditary, but politick, and deputative, and so is, as are other *Laws*, alterable, (though they had not forfeited it) as is conducing to the welfare and safety of *Salus*, how then as forfeited also? On which grounds they did make it *Null* by an *Act*, and by another *Act* condemned him, as siding with his Father &c.

18. And as there is a *Law* that made it *Treason*, and so to forfeit self-rights of life, and livelyhood, as of lands and estate, &c. for attempting against the *King*,

as

as the *Publike* welfare was concerned in him, and the King did, and might by Law and Reason exact the same, as so relating to the publike good of peace and safety; by the same Law of Reason, or *lex talionis*, as much is due upon the *King*, or any of his, yea more, as more engaged by trust, oath, honours, and tribute or revenues, of and from the *people* for that end and purpose; and the King himself by his *opinion*, and exaction of the same, saith as much, and so condemns himself and his for Delinquents, as so acting, and justifies his executioners for their acting thereafter on such. If it be said, that the King traytor'd such, or as it related to himself only, and not as to the Publike. I answer, It may be so, but it rendred him weak, or wicked and unjust, or both if so; for it was, and is in Nature and Reason, and intention of Laws, so the Law-makers, as we say afore, as it publikely related, &c. for what's *Unus* to the *Universe*, or to our highest principle, also of one so engaged as afore, by trust, oath, and tribute, and so his end of being what he was, and having what he had?

But to absolute this point, I will make bold to insert a few lines just as they are in my *Army Armed*, which sure with what's said, will satisfie or silence each one.

We will suppose then as high as we can, as that *Charls Stuart* is innocent, and absolutely wronged of his right, What then? yea further, suppose they were his self-rights, as they are not; and not forfeited, as they are; what then? Where doth any one find it in the *Law* of *Religion* and *Reason*, that to inright one, they may hazard the ruine of millions; if the wronged could right themselves the right way, as on the wrongers only, I dispute not against it; but to wrong infinite

inno-

innocents to right one nocent, or admit *innocent*, o which yet they may fail, is unſpeakable madneſs, folly, and injuſtice: by this why may not *Clients* clearly injured by their *Lawyer*, or their *Adverſary*, *hoſtile* it, and gather an Army of men, *Eſau*-like, and ſo inforce his *Adverſary* to do as much for his defence; ſo theſe two *Murtherers* muſt meet with their *multitudes*, and the *innocent fools* on both ſides muſt murther each other, under the notion of ſiding with for rights, and yet may this be much better done for known ſelf-rights, then for known forfeited *deputatives*, not to the ruine of a multitude only, but of a *Nation*, to whom they were bound by *Oath*, *Honour*, *Truſt*, and *Tribute*, and ſo owe duty and ſervice anſwerable.

How alſo can Forraign Religious *Princes* and *States* then in Honour and Honeſty anſwer it, to *Murther* and *Thieve* it, in pretending to help ſuch to their *Rights*; but the truth is, they help them only to be helpt in the like caſes; ſo we are like to have a mad world of it, when *Religious Princes* and *States*, as call'd, ſhall help to ſupport one another in *Tyrannies*, *Theſts*, and *Murders*, under the *Notion* of *Rights*; but wo to thoſe that call *good evil*, and *evil good*; I marvel exceedingly that ſuch *juſt*, *religious*, and *honourable Princes* and *States*, do not ſend over their Armies now and then, to help each *innocent individual* wrong'd of his ſelf-rights by his *Adverſary*, or his *Lawyer*: for its a much fairer, goodlier, and juſter ground and pretenſe then the other, though both be naught, as teaching both ſides *naughtineſs*, as to invade each others rights, under pretenſe of *righteouſneſs*.

19. Shew they then not great weakneſs or wickedneſs, not to know, or not to acknowledge, things of ſo

ſo eaſie a comprehenſion, made good as afore, by *Scriptures*, *Religion*, and *Reaſons*, or to perpetrate ſuch trecheries and perfideous actions, contrary to all.

20. Shew they not both great *Wickedneſs* and *Weakneſs*, to expoſe their own Honours, Lives, and Eſtates, who many of them did and might have lived happily and Prince-like, or in a ſweet, comfortable, and competent condition, but have now forfeited and loſt all the aforeſaids, upon ignoble, baſe, and trecherous ends, courſes, and deſigns, and ſo undone alſo their Wives and Children, and brought themſelves to end their days diſhonourably, miſerably and untimely: Is't nothing to expoſe all as afore, ſo their kindred and friends, and their native Country to the Sword, Fire, and Famine, beſides many other miſeries and ſufferings, as now in its prime of plenty, beauty, and bravery to devaſtation and ruine; as if *Winter* had anticipated it in time to ſeize on, and ſurprize the *Summers* Riches and Treaſure, and all her goodly ornaments and endowments, and ſo to render our Fields, Meads, and Downs, *Golgotha*'s and *Akeldama*'s.

21. Well, but all we have ſaid, or can ſay, will not do, for they love *Charls Stuart*, and hate the Lord *Protector*; the *Firſt* alſo hath *Right* on his ſide, the *Laſt* is very *Unrighteous*.

21. Goodly *Arguments* for love and hate, ſo for judging about right or wrong; however by this they are orthodox and authentick, in judgement therefore they may love and hate any one, alſo act any thing as relates to either, &c.

22. But are not theſe *trecherous* colours and pretenſes? for do they not rather trecherouſly love and hate themſelves, as their own ends, luſts, and deſires, which in concluſion will ruine them? &c.

23. What

23. What are their allowable grounds for loving *Charls Stuart* at all, or at ſuch a rate and degree, as to degrade themſelves, and theirs, and their native *Country*, as afore: Will they ruine the *Univerſe* for *Unus*?

24. As for his *Right*, it hath in part been anſwered at § 16. and ſee in full § 75. But for the *wrongs* done by his *Father* and Himſelf to the *Engliſh*, they are paſt over in ſilence. Is't not an argument of impudence, or inſolence, or both?

25. They love not the *Lord Protector*, alſo he hath no right on his ſide, as they ſay; but we ſay, for his *Right* to the Government, ſee § 43, to 53.

26. And truly we find by their dealings, that they love *Him* not, yea we find that they hate him, &c. But why not *love*? or why at all, or thus *Hate*? I conceive they are to ſeek of Reaſons or cauſes for either, but admit in admittals, as that cauſe were for both, and to their degree alſo, yet where learn they to revenge at all, how then to ſuch a height, likewiſe, to the hazard of their *Countries* ruine, by involving it into Factions and Parties, for that end; for is not his Highneſs at this time the very hinge on which the ſafety and welfare of this State hangs, reſts, and depends?

But for all their objections and exceptions hitherto againſt him, they are I conceive, ſufficiently anſwered in our *Army Armed*, and *Protector protected*; ſo that reſervedneſs were better, and more becoming, alſo more fair and juſt, till they find the ſaid *Anſwers* anſwered, as inſufficient or unjuſt; as we have cautioned and qualified them.

27. Many good things hath he done, why are they paſt over ſo, Equity requires *Retaliation*, &c. for which of

of his *Good* Deeds then would you *stone* him; or if for any *Evil*, make it appear, or that it amounts to a *stoning*? or if it did, its for the *Innocent* to cast the first Stone, and not the *Guilty*, so none shall be cast: But were he guilty, and that to your degree, yet who authorised you to cast *stones*, &c. which we shall make appear you may not do at all; How then as *Salus* safety is concerned in *Him*: For,

Oh you his immediate Assassinators, you Murderers, you Traytors to your Country, by indangering its ruine: Are you hired? so was Judas *to murther himself as well as his Master. You fools, how think you to scape? The Jesuites have befool you, as they did* Raviliac, *to be presently conveighed away by an Angel; but the Divel prevented the Angel, and Tyburn the Traytor.*

28. *Know Friends*, that had such or such an one murthered my *Mother*, and now opportunity of war favours me so, as that he being plac'd just opposite to me, I could kill him, but my Father is accidentally placed just afore, also close to him, so that I cannot shoot, or kill one, but I must kill both; what fine pretense trow will bear me out to attempt it, and so turn paracide to my Father, under colour of love, duty, and justice to my Mother, and of hate and revenge, to, and on her ruines; surely, as so postured, I will not only spare, but protect what I can such a naughty man. How then ought I to protect what I can, mine, and my Parents, and my Countries Protector, that hath oft ventured his life, and all his fortunes, to redeem and recover my well neer lost *Mother*, and doth still save and protect her; why then at all offend him, &c. much more seeing you cannot wrong him, but our Mother must suffer also.

Our Country so each one, and theirs.

29. On what grounds now take up Arms for *Charls Stuart*?

Stuart, as for his Right, so your love to him: We have already, and will further answer you in due place; So for your groundless hate to his Highness, or though grounded, &c. So that now your Arms taking up under the Notion of and for *Charls Stuart*, must needs be for your own by and base ends, as to side with him, hoping to insinuate into him, and deceive him with such and such pretenses, and so gain him to side with you, for your own ends sake; though he also have his own ends also, as well as your selves; yet both of you, *Simeon* and *Levi*-like, agree in your *Levities*, your wickedness, &c. against your selves and yours, and so your Country, &c.

30. Your ends must be then to be righted of your wrongs, as you will call them, so to help you to your Fields and Vinyards again, which you have lost by your former trecheries, also hoping of an addition and further enlargement of them; likewise of advancement to places of profit, power, honour, and command, &c. to these, and not to *Charls Stuart* are ye Stewards.

31. But is not this to build Castles in the Ayr, as to hazard the certainties you have, and so go on in your Trecherizings, in hope of revenge and advancement, which are so remote in point of likelyhood as afore: Is not your advancements more like to be *Haman*like, then that of *Mordecai*? Have not divers of you been already advanced and mounted to *Hamons* height, to your downfals? Will not Love and Loyalty to your Native Country, its Peace and Safety, so the experience of others sufferings by such attempts, and the infinite hazards you self-ly run, also involve your Country into, nor the loss of what you have, and sweetly enjoy, &c. Will none of these I say warn you

against

against your selves, who are only your own enemies, &c.

32. How can you digest it? How answer it, thus to Traytorize, Murther, and Thieve it, to bring your ends about, under pretense for *Charls Stuart*? and admit this also, how yet I say can you in points of wisdom, reason, humanity, and justice, answer it? Care you not what you do, to undo all, and your selves also? There is not one Argument of wisdom, sense, reason, justice, or humanity on your side, in your way of proceedings, pretend what you will, find one if you can; and if not, what are you in the mean while, that are in this neither wise, rational, true, nor honest, but the quite contrary to all; contrary then your selves in the aforesaids; and so you shall know what you are, by what you should be.

33. Should your *Charls* conquer, as its very unlikely, also infinitely dangerous, mischievous, and hazardous to an universal ruine, &c. yet he conquers not: for whats that conquest to you, that conquers you, and yours, and your Country also, & makes you all absolute slaves to the conqueror so call'd, and the conqueror a slave also to his competitors: can you promise to your selves the priviledges you now enjoy from your conqueror, who is more remote in nature and grace *, so also in power to help himself and you; for the *Kingers* of your King will be his and your King, &c. and shew him only to hide their own King-hoods, so also their Tyrannies to, and abuses of the people, which his name and presence of King must cover, and these also will befool you with promises and pretenses, to gain you to second the King, that so ye may second, and so first them, in points of Conquest, and so of Linghood,

* *Good qualities and abilities: also he is a stranger &c.*

and then you shall have plenty of *Chymera's*, and *Castles* in the Ayr, and Aery *Utopia's* for your pains: thus *Foab*-like, with their smiles, they smite you under the fifth rib; you shall have Butter and Milk also in Lordly dishes, &c. but not one word of the *Nail* that must pierce your *Temples*, and fasten you to the ground past rising, &c.

Yours & your Countries slaveries.

Know you the end and issues of war, when once begun, and on foot? Doth it not usually immortalize it in *Mortalities*, and make sport of casting Firebrands in good earnest, as if in jest, like *Foab* and *Abners* gallants, that rose up to play, but never lay down again till tumbled down? Is not lovely, youthful, and natural green, a more seemly, comfortable, and acceptable colour for your grain and grass, so for your Orchards, Gardens, Edens, and Paradises, then is the bloody, the gory, the savage, or sanguine hew? Would you have Foot and Horse, Troops and Companies, devour up, demolish, or trample down your goodly Corn-fields, so your Granaries and Grass, and render all as dismal as a deserted Desert? Must the Summer, and you be thus surprised, prize you all at no better rate then so? Would you return to *Egypt* again, the house of Bondage, and so have the *Star-chamber* state over you as afore, and the High Commission commit you *ad placitum*? Would you that Doctors Commons should once more turn you to graze on the *Commons*? Would you that *Pole-money*, and *Monopolies*, also *Ship-money*, should oppress you again? Think you that *Taxes*, *Customs*, and *Excise* shall cease? No, no, weaklings they are, as is the *Militia*, Flowers of the Crown, if these wither, whither will the Crown go? for so the Militia will be mastered, for want of its Mistress, &c. But

Pecunia.

this

this must not be; as for us, we are forc'd to have the said Sesments for defence sake, they for offence sake, though none offend them: Would you that *Prelacy* and *Priesthood* should perk up again, and under pretense of *Religion*, Gods honour, worship, and service, and non-conformist &c. be heretick, and sect you, and then dissect you by persecutions, punishments, and banishments, also hamper your licentiate liberty of Conscience, as they will call them, as so many extravagancies from the Orthodox Faith, and their implicite fooleries; then when too late, your prudence will see your improvidence, to lose such a favour, through your insensibleness, ingratitude, and licenciateness, &c. then may you (like the *Brazen-head*) cry out, that *time was*, but *is not*, for now *its past*.

35. Nor do I reason cunningly, on purpose to establish his *Highness* in the *Government*, otherwise then I conceive is right, also conduceth to the peace, welfare, and safety of our Nation, &c. beyond any change that can be accidentally or forcibly made; but as for what may be carefully, wisely, and peaceably contrived for his *Highness* Honour, and his *Posterities* safety, and our *Nations*, &c. surely will in prudence and providence be complyed to; for, the safety of the Nations is his, so each ones safety, &c. so its hazards, dangers, exigents, or ruine, are his, so his posterities, so each ones also; for they are so interwoven, that the web will be quite lost, if either be lost, &c. *Personal* greatness may be good and necessary for the honour of our Nation, as the *Presenter* of such a People is ocularly conspicuous, as well as in Fame and Name; for that such appearances begets it: as they did in *Salomon*, who made use of both, to beget, amplifie, and continue

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his greatness: and as the Mayor of *London* must not only in name *Lord* it, also in power and extent of Command and Government, exceed *Barnets*, or *St Albons* Governours, but also in ocular and specious *presentments*, else his Sun of glory may decline, and retrograde it, as on the Dyal of *Abaz*. With all humility I do therefore presume, as love, duty, and loyalty binde me for his *Highness*, so our *Countries* welfare and safety, so each *Individuals*, that in season, before death natural, or casual prevent, thoughts may be how to leave this our Country, now under his *Highness* charge, so his *Posterities*, safe and secure, in its after way, manner, and kinde of Government, lest *Greatness* alone without *Safety* bring us all to little or nothing; it will much conduce to his *Highness* honour, so to his safety, whilst living, for when the adversary sees his hopes dasht by a future certain way of safe Government, he will find it bootless to attempt on the present *Governour*, or futures, and for my part, let his *Highness Posterity* have the name and honour of the *Presentment* thereof; yet in such a secure way, as may secure themselves and us all, which sure for their safety, so our Countries, his *Highness* will comply to, and cast for, as for his own life time, I do think that all or most do conceive themselves to be as well and safe under him, as under any other Governour whatsoever, from experience of his care and wisdom hitherto. But *Sir*, you are *Mortal*, and withal momentary, therefore honour your *Name*, and your *Posterity*, whilst here, and when gone, by so providing for them, that so al sorts may account you their *Countries Saviour*, next their Saviour: Sure, I am a Member of our *Nation*, and so concern'd in duty and with all humility, to exhibit my conceptions, by

 way

way of hints and memorandums, for its ever your good Sir, as the *Syrian* servant said, to his Lord and Master familiarly; Father, what if the Prophet had said for your good so and so; how then when he only adviseth you to wash and be clean, return home, safe, sound, and secure, &c. and his servants advice he took well, and obeyed it, and so was saved, &c. else &c. Did not the Lord *Joab* also hear a poor *woman* from the Wall, &c. by which King *David*'s City was saved, so the Citizens, and the Lord *Joab* and his *Army* also; All which else in opposition might have been lost, and destroyed one another. And *Salomon* hints also of a poor man that saved another City, but &c. Its the highest of honours to leave all safe; and they and theirs are worthy of honour and dignities that do it; but honours and greatness without safety, is to stand on the precipe of a *Precipice*, as pinacled on the highest point of the *Temple*, ready for precipitation; which thou O *God* in heaven, and you *gods* on earth, I humbly pray you forbid, by timely providing for and against, all for, and against; which till it be, this whole *Nation* stands so placed as afore, though not minded, if your *Highness* should miscarry, which God forbid; for I see such clandestines and ambushments attend continually for your surprisal, that I faint on thoughts thereof, both for you, and yours, our selves, and the whole *Nation*, &c.

36. But yet fully to clear it, that I partialize not in my plea in behalf of his *Highness*, let's suppose that *Perkin Warbeck*, or the Traytor *Ravillac*, or the Rayler *Rabshekah*, or the *Excepters* own self, had forcedly, and so usurpingly gained the Government, and governed much amiss also, but not destructively, I yet would, yea I ought to support them, though not

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for their own sakes, yet on the terms and cautions at Sect. 28. viz. as my Father, my Mother, my Countries safety is concerned in them, except I could evidently find a way to displace them without endangering our Country to murthers, slaughters, fire, famine, and all sorts of devastations to ruine, also safely and certainly, without the aforesaid miseries, supply their places with better men, &c. else as good abide as we are, as run such hazardous adventures, &c.

37. Why then attempt against the *Lord Protector*? whom we have or will prove no *Usurper*, but to have a true and just Right to the Government, as also governs well, though not to each ones fancy or minde, nor may, nor can, &c. For God himself in *Samuel* could not do it; for no remedy, but they would discharge him, though they could no ways charge him, &c.

38. Would his Highness resigne, and will us to fit our selves with Governours and Government to our minds, the whole Land would be in a confusion; factions (like *Hydra*'s heads) would multiply, and so divide us, we should never agree, cause each one would have his friend, or one of his Church or Faction to rule, that so that party or faction might rule in and by him: Are we not in a happiness then that the place is possessed, by which means we are kept from ruining our selves, to place one there; who when there, though it were God himself (as afore) he cannot please men of contrary minds, humors, and ends, nor the same man in his several humors; so humorous and vain a thing is man.

39. Let the Exclaimer and Excepter (by imagination) place himself in the Government, and cast how to come off without casting, so with honour in corre-

sponding

speaking it wisely with other States and Princes, and giving his own people content, let him present before him the continual Suits and Petitions of different Sects and parties, and that he is never free from complaints of one nature or other, nor from Visits and Addresments to and from Forraign States and Princes, or his own people; how also he is never quit nor quiet from clamors and exclamations of croſt parties, that he cannot, nor in justice may not comply to; then likewise, the continual dangers that attend him from the revengeful, envious, and hateful, as any way croſt, or not complyed to; and how he cannot pleaſe any, though he endeavour to pleaſe all; ſo that ſurpriſals do continually haunt him, by reaſon whereof he cannot have time to come off in his thoughts and cares about the aforeſaids, and a world of things more, which much check him in his recreations and refreſhments, ſo in his retreats, beſides the awe and fear of trecherous ſurpriſals: Surely all things afore fully preſented to him, would awe and affright him from approching the *Throne*, and go near to cauſe him to *Reproach* it.

40. Take up *Arms* then (if *Arms* you will take up) even with your Enemy (as you eſteem and call him) ſeeing he ſides with, and protects your friend, yea your ſelf, and your Mother, your Country, that bare you, and brought you up, yea oppoſe with him your dear friend, your King, ſo called; for your Kings ſake, your Country, and for ſhame be no longer be-fooled with pretenſes, hopes, and promiſes of Caſtles in the Ayr, and aery *Utopia's*; nor with ſmiles and ſalutes of *how doſt my Brother?* and by and by you are thrild or ſmit under the fifth rib; remember all the hazards you

undergo at Sect. 34. ſo divers other places, and for future, compreſs and comply, and do no more ſo, and ſo recover your ſelves like men; for I will aſſure you, you now act like children, babes, and ſucklings.

41. Its our wiſeſt courſe then to comply to the preſent Government, and ſo ſettle an Agreement amongſt our ſelves, to prevent diviſions; for there is no likelyhood of bettering our ſelves, had we free liberty to do it, but of ruine rather; and did Forraign Princes and States ſee us ſo ſetled, it would ſtave them off from attempting on us, and ſo ſecure us, and enable us to attempt on them, eſpecially on thoſe that have wronged us, and will not right us, &c. But

42. I will now make head againſt all excepters and objectors whatſoever againſt his Highneſs as an Uſurper, and ſo to have no right to the Government, &c. which is ſufficiently done in our *Army Armed*, and *Protector Protected*, with what elſe is (for ought I know) objectable againſt him; but I will (with addition of this) fortifie it (I hope) paſt forfeiting &c.

43. Be then ingenious, upright, and fair conditioned (my Reader) I pray thee, and do as thou wouldſt be done to; ceaſe judging, cenſuring, and condemning, till thou haſt ſeen what's ſaid in his behalf; and then let not the paſſions of partiality, love or hate, obſtacle ingenious judgement, but come off like a man, &c.

Let it be remembred then, that when the Lord *Fairfax* declin'd going againſt the *Scot*, his Highneſs being then in *Ireland*, whither he was ſent to curb that ſtubborn and rebellious people, which (*Cæſar*-like, or rather like himſelf) he did in a trice, preventing *veni, vidi, vici*, with *vici* only, he was then ſent for, and choſen

choſen by the ſaid Parliament to undertake againſt the *Scot*, which he did with the like ſucceſs and ſuddenneſs, all things conſidered; his Highneſs was then alſo inveſted with the *Militia* or Sword, as *Defender* of the three Nations, which is in nature *Protector*, yea King, as ſo ſelf-ly ſworded, and as ſo choſen by the Parliament, he was choſen and impowred (as afore) by the whole Nation, each individual therein, as in the *Army Armed*, and *Protector Protected*, is fully ſet out, and made good againſt all oppoſers and objecters, be whom they will, &c.

45. Again, his Right of Turn and place choſe him, for he was next in place to the ſaid Lord *Fairfax*, ſo it had been injuſtice and a diſhonour to him to have declin'd him, and incline to any other, without juſt cauſe of exception, as unable, or unfaithful, or ſhort of ſufficiencies to undergo, but his apparent perfections, and the Parliaments continued choice employments of him, ſpake and evidenced for him as afore.

46. His own known worth of Wiſdom and Care, Fortitude and good Fortune choſe him (had the Parliament not choſe him) as the hopefulleſt to preſerve, defend, and protect our Countries.

47. His own, ſo his Souldiers Honors and Safeties choſe him, and would have juſtified an uſurpation, and retenſion, (as call'd) til ſecured againſt after claps of diſpowering, and then of over-powering; and I conceive it had been *Self* and *Publike* Trechery, not to have ſo uſurped or aſſumed, alſo held the power, til he had throughly provided for his own and his Souldiers ſafety, as afore, ſo our Countries alſo what he could.

48. His Countries neceſſities choſe him, as in likelyhood its moſt hopeful Deliverer, Defender, and Pro-

rector, by reason of his known perfections of faithfulnes, wisdom, fame, and fortitude; and these are beyond the giddy, the ignorant, the partial, and passionate, vocal, or articulate free choice of the people, as call'd: And this alone authorised *Moses* to assume and hold the Government, for the Peoples safety &c.

49. Lastly, As so chosen and impowered by al afore, God also chose him; for whom, or what Wisdom, Reason, Justice, Mercy, and just Necessity chose, and allow of, God doth, must, and wil approve of, who is them al, &c. so he is of God, and by Divine ordination, as wel as by humane; which also, yea therefore is also Divine, being as afore: So he is chosen by Divine and Humane ordination, the Governour of our three Countries, deny it who can. But for his Government, it concerns his Highnes to look to it, for I meddle not with it, only his Right thereto, and I think I am right, &c.

50. The aforesaids standing clear and good, I say then, that reverence, love, and loyalty are his just dues, as to any King or Prince that ever was, as he is beyond them al in points of choice and desert, as hath or shal appear: so also is a sobriety in judging and censuring of him about things out of our reach, and out of his (oft-times) to act as he should, or would; so many lets, and obstacles of al sorts Governours have, that they cannot as they should, or would, &c.

51. It must not be forgot then that according to Sect. 44, his Highnes is chosen and impowered with the universal Militia, and so King'd in power, according to the Law, and custome of choice, as by the free Votes of the People, and I say somwhat beyond, in that way of choice, as chosen by a Parliament chosen by

by the People, who in respect of the rude multitude of the Country chusers, are a company of wise and knowing men, having also al our other Arguments, that *Index*-like, points and sends them to him: Whereas in chusing *Parliaments* or Kings, Princes, or Governours of Nations, or of any sort, there is seldom knowledge of, or respect to perfections; but to partiality only; for the passions and affections of love and hate, fear and hope, friendship or relation to, so power, force, or fraud, and an hundred by and particular ends, as packt, hir'd and faction'd thereto, and not choiseness, chose, the chosen; yet this is call'd free choice, and the liberty of the People so magnifi'd and cry'd up, but we must cry it down, for down it is in nature, though thus grac'd, I say then, that Licentiateness is not a liberty, but the only bondage; Were fitting *Boundaries* set for choosing, to fetch in the Choice, the wise, worthy, and able, and keep out the worthless, &c. also to keep the so chosen within their said bounds, that they extravagant not; I allow then of such a Liberty, else not: But these useful Boundaries they would also cal Bindings, and a loss of Liberty and Priviledges,; so it appears, that their Freedom is only Licentiateness, which is the only Bondage, as afore; and our Freedom is conducing Bindings, &c. now how we shal agree, I know not, seeing we thus disagree.

52. Things thus considered, shew me (if you can) the Man, the Parliament, King, Prince, or Power whatsoever, so chosen in al particulars, &c. but I know you cannot; however, he is so chosen the highest Governour (if the just and universal Sword be Supreme or highest) as clearly shews his Right, and quits him of Usurpation, and enjoyns al sorts to obedience; and al

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the Duties at Sect. 50. And that's enough to make good our *Assertion*, and yet the Desertless would desert him, though thus *asserted*.

We have yet something also to say concerning the Lord *Fairfax*, which seems to suit with this point: Know then, that when the said Lord *Fairfax* had the universal Militia or Power in his Power, and that the Parliament and City bandyed against him and the Army, to disband them, and in conclusion rise in Arms to enforce it; he held his Power, for his own and his Souldiers Honours and Safety, so for his Countries; and finding himself in plight to put them to it, did so, and to make short, came in like a Conquerour, yet as conquered, with Modesty and Mildness; for what *Lex talionis* would have allowed him to do to such as would have undone him, and also endangered the Nation to ruinous Division, let Justice her self judge; considering that both He and the Army had been most faithful and valiant in behalf of them and our Country.

The Pulpits Incendiary I take it, makes this good.

But I take it that it was only the * Presbyterial party of the Parliament, so of the Clergy and City, that incensed the people against him, not for the common good sake, but their own ends only, as that the Presbyterie might Prelate it under the Notion of Priests, and so crush all other Sects in Religion (as call'd) but themselves, the only Sect, as out, or against Religion, if such a Regiment be against it, and Righteousness in that point for it. However it appeared that he was a Prince in just Power, also used it Prince-like, as defensively,

The name of Presbyterie is not offensive to me, but their natures of Pride and Pretences, which produce contention. Rom. 14. so nor Reason allow not the sword but the sword of the Spirit; and yet the sword also against Invaders of the Fundamentals, so the Peoples peace, &c.

ſively, and not offenſively; alſo for juſt Self and Publike ends, and this he might, and ſo may any; for its the end of Power ſo to do: To wiſe eyes he was *Roy* in Right of Might and juſt Power, if uſed as afore, and the Parliament but his *Vice-Roys*, and did act only on their *bene-geſſere*, and his *bene placitum* or permiſſion, for what he then did, he could always have done, and might, on our premiſſes, elſe not; but ſupport them rather, as the end of juſt Power is both to ſupport and ſuppreſs, as the general or juſt particulars neceſſitate; why elſe is't a Power but for ſuch ends? For can any one in reaſon think that juſt power impowered for that end; or however, being in Nature, Reaſon, and Religion, bound to right what they can the wronged, whether Individuals, or the Univerſal; as did *Moſes* in both: who though not formally impowered, yet having *Power*, righted his individual wrong'd brother, and next, his Brethren the People: and ſo may any, with our cautions, principles, and premiſes, elſe not. Can then I ſay ſuch Powers ſee themſelves unjuſtly and inhumanly acted againſt for all their Humanities, which rather cal for Gratitudes; and *Gratias*, inſtead of ſuch ingratitude? and yet like ſenſleſs Momes, ſit ſtil; it cannot be. Can they alſo ſee their Country neglected, as not acted for, as it ought; or acted againſt, as it ought not; and like the ſenſleſs ſit ſtil? it cannot be: However it ought not be; but they may (*Moſes*-like) without our Cautions, act againſt ſuch Actors; yet not without our Cautions, &c.

Wherein came he ſhort in that little brunt of his Highneſs? However he ſhewed by that Act, what he might, and would, as he conceived, conducing, and as juſtly neceſſitated; and ſo would my Excepter do, if in their place, Serpentinely ſave his head, and his head his Country, &c.

Hints or memorandums.

Sub-

Subordinate Swords and Powers have their Superiors, or the Supreme to awe and command them, and enforce a rendition of their Powers; but the Supreme is King in Nature, and asks more then Grace to govern it; and its wel if any way governed: For who shal say to the King * what dost thou?

Or any highest Power in point of Power.

Capitulate not then (oh thou naked Man) petulantly and daringly with the Brandisht and Flaming Blade, or Universal Sword or Power, lest it sanguine it self in thy *Sanguis*; but rather Serpent-like, save thy Head, so thy Feet, yea thy whole Body, by thy application to our application and addresment, else al thy pretended courage and faithfulness to the cause, are but foolish and vain-glorious follies, as insensibleness, wilfulness, and stubbornness, instead of resolution and courage for &c. To what end should a *Venice* glass malapertly justle it, or contend with an Iron pot? except in our way of Oratory, of Reason, and Humanity: As spare me (oh noble Sir, I pray you) for I am too weak and brittle to deal with you, so chuse rather to Incumbe, then try it out with such a *Combahant*.

Al Powers (though unjust) wil yet if they can, Rule, and not be Rul'd, and that oft-times unjustly; but if justly (though unjust) happy are the Rul'd: But just Powers may according to justice and just necessities, rule and over-rule. Know then that just or unjust Powers (though a little unjust) are Just; for God himself found folly in Heaven amongst his Angels &c.

The King himself was of our Judgement, and we of his: That to part with the Militia, was to part with *Abishag* his Mistris, for the Kingdom followed it, cause it un-king'd him, and King'd his un-kingers in point of Power: and so, of all things *ad placitum*, the Parliament

liament impowering his Highness, *King*-like, left him to himself, in point of Power to govern if he would, or see just cause, which he may with our Principles and premises of just necessities and conducings, as afore; and as did and might the Lord *Fairfax* on the same account: for none must be so silly as to think that the universal Power wil (if it can help it) be overpowered *; whatever, in a wise policy, it may connive, pretend, and comply to, and it comes off honestly, fairly, and wel, if with a little wronging, al things considered, for so Angels wil do: Thus the Lord *Fairfax* did no wrong, or if any, but little, also as of necessity inforced thereto; but wisely Sentinel'd and Perdu'd it to prevent Surprisals, and the better to surprize his Surprizers.

In power.

It may abide persuasion, but a compulsive Invasion, especially to unjust sufferings and dangers.

And the Parliament as afore outing the King, and his Seed, and immediately investing his Highness with the Militia, the Kings *Ahishag* or Mistris, or rather, with the Kingdom it self, he succeeds the King as the next Man, by an Act* of Parliament, as Governour in point of Power, either in *Esse*, *Posse*, or *Potentia*; and thus (besides al other Arguments, he claims Right to the Government; and if he Governs as he hath done, and promiseth to do, and provide also as we have hinted, we are happy, and he is worthy of the *Government*, and We unworthy of such a Governour.

As their doings, which they never did.

53. But sure for this my doing I shal not scape censuring as a *Flatterer*, a Time-server, &c. in this *Tract*, &c. I cannot deny but so it may be, but I do deny that so it is: Now who is't can conclude from possibilities, to certainties, as that things are, cause they may

be; which as they cannot try, they say nothing: for I can from possibilities (if they be good Arguments) make guilty the most innocent, &c. But the Laws of *Logick* and *Love*, as of Civility, Humanity, and Charity are against such conclusions, and in doubtfuls for the contrary, &c. as for the fairest and most friendly construction; which to make good, I have and do present you also with many allowable reasons and grounds for what I do; and do here seriously and ingeniously protest, that I would not have set Pen to Paper, but to discover falshood, and make Truth apparent; for there is no reason that his *Highness* should be wrong'd or censur'd as an Usurper, besides many other unjust Objections and Exceptions against him; and the censurers go clear away, as just and true in the same, and his *Highness* remain as guilty, to his great dishonour: for Untruths in point of judgement do as much abuse, as do those of relation; for the people misled in either, are thereby incensed against his *Highness*, as if guilty, &c. so fal to factioning it for and against, to the endangering of all, &c.

54. Nor may the censure of *Flattery*, nor any depravings, &c. obstacle or check duties of any nature, especially of so high concernment, for so no good thing almost wil be done, and many *evils* must be done; for there is not any good thing but may be vilified and depraved; nor any bad, but may be rendred speciously good &c. Let the *Performer* then stand clear in his own heart and Conscience, and so rest resolved for the rest, else farewel al goodness and good things, if we be afraid of *Sanballats Foxes*, who would demolish *goodness* it self, they are so *Bad*.

Object. 55. You are contented that I do my *Country*

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al the good ſervice I can, but you except that I plead thus for the *Protector*, alſo you would not have me to hint nor minde him of theſe his Rights, &c, for it wil pride him, and he is proud enough already.

Anſw. If it be any factious Incendiaries or trouble-States that object thus, I anſwer, Why except they at what they are the Cauſers of? For had they not endangered our Country by crying up the King of *Scots* Rights, and crying down the Lord Protectors, and ſo divided and factioned the people to the Hazard and Ruine of al, I had been ſilent; ſo they clearly excuſe me, and condemn themſelves of what they accuſe me of, by neceſſitating me to do it. Whoever elſe objects, I conceive this anſwer wil ſatisfie them alſo.

Object. 56. But its objected, That the *Law* makes this or that not *Treaſon*, except againſt a *King*, nor bindes, except for a King, &c. ſo ſuch are not Traytors, nor capable of Tryal as ſuch, &c.

Anſw. If ſo, I know not what to ſay to ſuch a Law, nor ſuch Lawyers; and yet they ſhal know by and by, that I know what to ſay to both, ſo care for neither of them in this caſe.

By this alſo (it may be) they wil ſay, that the Parliament could not, nor can his Highneſs now, make *Laws* or *Ordinances* without a King, &c. Oh the force that is in words, ceremonies, and opinion: But we ſhal ſhew by and by that our Principle is too hard for them al, as wel as for al at Sect. 16.

However they wil by this (if ſo) enforce his *Highneſs* to *King* it in Title, to entitle him to the aforeſaids. But we wil take to pieces theſe poſitions, and examine them, &c. ſo ſhal we ſee what confeſſion they wil make.

57. If as against the King be Treason, what then is it against the Kings *King?* Sure the greater is greater then the leſs, and contains it; Now whether the *Peoples* welfare and ſafety be not greater then *Charls Stuart's* Right, if Right, ſee Sect. 3. to 17. Then whether *Salus* be not highly concern'd in the preſent *Governour* thereof, ſee Sect. 28. &c.

58. Note, our Principle, *Kings* the higheſt *Governour* in point of Power (however cald or entituled) in all things, as *Salus* is neceſſitated, or juſtly conduc'd to, eſpecially in point of Safety, ſo his own ſafety in relation thereto; ſo that as afore, neither Words, nor Letters, nor no Law for, or if againſt, nor any thing is valuable or pleadable in oppoſition thereto; elſe the aforeſaids were higher then the higheſt; to which all at Sect. 16. ſtoop, yeild, and comply; yet ſome of our Laws and Lawyers (as afore) are lawleſs, and wil not, ſo muſt be out-law'd, &c.

59. What's the word *King*, but a compoſition of Letters, in themſelves nothing; for to people of another language, they are only *ſounds*, &c. ſo the power of the word is in thy conception or opinion of it, or of cuſtome; but the right power is in the extent of juſt power; next, in the worth and perfections of the perſon impowered: See then what moſt *Kings* are, at Sect. 51. to 52. and ſee what his *Highneſs* is at Sect. 4. to 5. and ſo who then are Kings.

60. His Highneſs hath the *Militia* of three Nations in his hand, Doth this, or the Title *King*, King? Next, he is choſen in points of choice, beyond all or moſt Kings of Governours, as afore; alſo hath choice parts: Kings theſe, or the Title *King?*

61. Is a King of *Scotland* alone, cauſe call'd and ceremo-

remony'd like a King, such a King as is the Protector of our three Nations?

62. There was no King in Israel, &c. There was then to be none, for they never had any; What's then the Meaning, but that there was no Universal *Governour* at that time? Governour then is the *Genus*, and so contains all *Species* or kinds of *Governours*, however call'd; which howsoever in point of *Species*, he is yet a Governour or Ruler in the *Genus*: Thus *Judges*, *Captains*, *Priests*, *Prophets* and *Kings*, at different times King'd it in *Genus* and *Species*, though not alike *speciously*.

63. *Treason* then against the *King*, was not as he was a single Man, or as call'd *King*, but as he was the *Universal Governour*, in whose safety the *Peoples* safety was concerned: It was not Treason as it related to words, expressions, or Titles, but to his place or office, and its relate, the people as afore.

64. Let the Lord *Protector* then have what name or Title you please, it matters not, he is a King in nature, as well as the rest, or best; However, as he is the Universal *Governour*, in whose safety *Salus* safety is concern'd, this and that, or what was Treason to the *King* so call'd, is the same to him at least, he being more &c. its *Treason* then to the Publike for any to attempt upon, or against her Highest or Chiefest *Governour*, *Defender*, or *Protector*, to the endangering her Protection, Welfare, and Safety.

Thirty two Kings as call'd, and Translated, Joshua *slew on this side* Jordan; *they were (I believe) but the highest Governours of Cities. I think the* L. Mayor *of* London *is for his time as good as the best of them.*

66. Its considerable also that *Law* hath two parts, *viz.* its *Ceremonials*, and its *Essentials*, &c. its *Ceremonials*

monials are words, expressions, and names, so also such and such ways, courses and forms to proceed by &c. its Essentials are Justice, Rights, and Safety, of which this last is first; so in competition, Justice and Rights must comply to Safety, &c. If the Essentials must comply to *Safety*, what then can the Ceremonies of Law in just competition with its *Lord*, the *Peoples Safety* say to it? What reason have they, or is it ignorance, obstinacy, or wilfulness, &c. Must the Lord, the Publike Welfare, be a servant to its servants? Yea, be destroyed by them? *viz.* by words and names, so by manners and ways of proceeding; Ceremonials all to the Essentials afore, the Essentials at Sect. 16. in competition comply, but our Trivials are very troublesome.

67. Remember then as afore, that the Highest Governour, as *Salus*, is concern'd and necessitated, is not bound to Law it self, much less to Lawyers, or any Ceremonials, for in behalf of *Salus*, he is Judge and Lord of the Law as is conducing.

68. Else as afore, how could *Salus* on exigents be saved or provided for, if words and letters say nay, and none might gainsay them.

71. So may he act, also do and undo, without, yea against Law, yea Law it self, much more Laws, Letters, which are oft great lets to its intention, as the Publike is justly necessitated, cause the Publike is Lord of the Law, and who made it for its own end, and not against, and if in error or accident it be against, it must be made to know its place, is to give place.

72. Well, but yet ye are not at quiet, but are much troubled at one thing, you would fain be free *Englishmen*, and not under the *Sword*, nor *Taxes*. Be it so,

Give

Give then these *Weaklings* their wils, &c. so the Army is disarmed, and Taxes discharg'd, and now I hope we shal hear no more news of you, and yet what means this noise, this clattering of Armour and Weapons, this thundering of Canons and other shot, this bouncing and running of rampant Horsemen to and fro, what these shriekings and cryings out of all sorts? Whence these streams of Blood? How came these mangled and slain Carcasses? Whence those frighted Fugitives; What's the matter of this smoak, fire, and flame? &c. Surely from hence all, Your Army discharged, the *Hydra Faction* hath charged you with ten Armies for that one, and so overcharg'd you; for now *Royalists*, Peers, Prelates, and Priests, so Lawyers and Gospellers of all sorts and fashions, yea every several Sect, Church, and Faction are in Arms to offend one another, and defend themselves, and to Rule and Soveraignize it if they can; and *Forreigners* hearing thereof, take the advantage, and strike in amongst them, and whil'st your selves fight for the bone, the stranger *Doegs* may chance get it; however, the Land may be ruin'd before it be righted, or recovered by any side. All these miseries, and this our bondage, your licentiate liberty, your freedom hath brought us to, which the bondage of an Army and Taxes would have freed us from, and now you wish (when too late) oh that the *Army* were on *foot* again to save our *Heads*, &c. and for *Taxes*, you would rather then fail take the *Divels* counsel, part with all rather then your lives, or rather then Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children, also near and dear friends and Kindred should be parted by slaughters and massacrings, or so mangled and made away, and your selves live a dying life of grief,

grief, care, misery, nakednes and want, even to a continual expiring.

73. Had the poor *Savoyans* had a protecting, a defending Army (which could they have been in season aware of) sure they would, also have taxt themselves according to the *Divels* Doctrine, rather then come under the hands and Paws of such Divels, &c.

74. Lets know then your minds in season, whether you will have any protecting Armies by Sea and Land, Brave Royal and Imperial Forces or no, to save you from Royalists, and the rest, that so we may know how to please you, though we please you not.

75. That the King of *Scots* as call'd hath no right to the Government, is without any more adoe apparent in nature and reason, from what is already said, to any common understanding almost, how then to the comprehensive, as having (contrary to the very end, use, and being of Governours) sided with his *Father* against his *Mother*, his *Country*, in transcendent trecheries, &c. and that his *Father* was highly trecherous to his trust, appears by the Lord *Chief Justice Cook* of *Ireland* his *Kings Case*, heard, accepted, and confirmed by Parliament, on which the King was executed by their order; besides his oft needless and causless oppression of the People, as appears at Sect. 95.

76. Again, the Parliament made an Act against any of that Race for ever being *Kings* and *Governours* of this *Nation* &c. and this as the whole Body of the People was contracted in them, they might do; so may they make or marr any other Laws, as conduceth to the Peoples Welfare and Safety, as they have that of ten pounds in the hundred to eight, and then to six pounds for use monies, which if they find amiss, they

may

may alter again, and advance it to what degree they find it capable of, or depress it as they please; As the Hollanders, and other Countries, raise, and raze their exchange moneys, as avails to the Publike: Our Principle will justifie it also, and what not?

77. In short, as they may make one Law, so may they many, or any, and as they may marr, alter, or unmake one, or more, so may they *ad infinitum*, as conduceth to the Publike; for the Power that impowered them for the least, or any, influenc'd them for all conducings, and against all seducings, of which they conceived that Race to to reign here was one; and therefore they arraigned one, and raz'd out the rest. So by all our Arguments his Highness is the next man, being so chosen as afore.

78. Now whatever Ordinance or Act the Parliament made against any one Universal Governour for future, yet it afore, or afterward, they have impowered the Lord Protector with the universal Militia of our three Nations or Countries, as their Defender and Protector, and so left him, and so he still stands, besides all our other ways of Choice and Investure of him, in case they had not so done, they for their parts by so doing, (besides what we have said and done) have to our best understanding postured him in the place, and condition he now stands, for all the said Act: for if in words, or by an Ordinance or Act they say, we will not for future have any one alone universal Governour more, &c. and yet afore; or then, or after, gave him the triple, or threefold Militia, they King'd him in point of Power, call him as you please, and they were so King'd themselves by the People, though not so call'd, and yet call'd so by a King*, for to say in words, or by an

* *K. James*

Act of Parliament, We will not that any one man rule as afore, &c. and yet in actions do it, which are more real, also of later edition, and so more authentick, as seeming to revoke what they said; and is as much as to say, we are now of another mind and judgement, and will have this Gentleman however to Rule and Govern for his time, &c.

79. Yet we humbly make bold to say, that it concerns his *Highness* of his own goodness, nobleness, and ingenuity, and for his Honour and Renown sake, to make good what he can the ends of such a be-trust, as the welfare of the People, and their Safety, &c. and to consider of our contents, and in season to provide accordingly, &c. However, his Highness Rights as afore, I am forc'd to make good, for our former reasons sake; also to prevent and affront the Invaders thereof, to our endangering to ruine.

80. *Object.* But it may be said, this impowering him as afore, was only a be-trust, &c. a redelivery being expected when exacted.

Answ. So was the *Parliaments* from the *People*, a be-trust, as on intention and expectation of a rendition, &c. But those *Mortals* would have immortaliz'd it, and might with our cautions, so the Arguments are *idem*, though not * *ad idem*.

The Parliament by reason of their divisions, had opposite ends and could not mind the main.

Again, a *Betrust* is answered, as the *main ends* of it are answered, the *Peoples Safety*, &c. And here I ingeniously protest, I see not but that his *Highness* hath, doth, and will as faithfully and sufficiently quit himself, as I conceive any can, or would do that should possess that place, say *Praters* what they please, and if he shall please to make good our *Contents* as afore, he would *Crown* us, and we should then do well to do as much

much by him, for we cannot do too much for our *Saviour*, as we cannot for our *Saviour*.

82. However, I conceive, yea I think that I may safely *positive* it, and say, that neither his *Highness* to the *Parliament*, nor the *Parliament* to the *People*, might part with their *Powers* or Commissions, but on our cautions at Sect. 47. and that their engagements and be-trusts forbade and charged them to the contrary.

Object. But its urg'd that his *Highness* was the *Parliaments* servant *, so ought to obey, and deliver up his *Power* when called for, it being only a be-trust, also he promised so to do, &c.

So was the Parliament the People's, so the Argument is the same.

For the Truth of this, that none may be deceived, I will set it right, and then leave it to judgement: I say then,

Answ. I deny that he was the *Parliament* servant, and if he was, I care not, so nor for his promise, if any, and as its said, to be a Be-trust, see Sect. 80.

Are the *Servants* of a *Lords Family* the Stewards, cause the *Steward* entertains them, and takes them in, seeing he pays them out of his *Lords* Treasury? Are they not both (though differently degree'd) *servants* to one and the same *Lord*? in opposition or competition, then who shall the meanest servant comply to? Yea may not the case be such, as that he ought not obey, but with respectiveness (if he have power) soberly oppose the Steward in his Lords behalf, and for his own safety, if he find that he endanger either? But you will say, who shall be Judge? for any one may pretend, &c. For this, see Sect. 83. and then Judge you.

Nor may the Stewards own servants, as may not the Lords own servants, so nor the Kings, when he

was, be true to, or side with, or obey their own *Masters* in opposition to their grand Master, the *Publike*; This the *Parliament*, so that next afore, judg'd on the *servants* side, when it came to be agitated afore them, and so allow'd of the *servants* or *subjects* judgement and disobedience, and punisht those as *Traytors* that were true to their private Master or Trust, against their grand Master, the *Publike*: see our Sect. 63, as afore, for judgeing.

If also neither the promises, nor the sacred vows of a *Wife* cannot binde her to God, in opposition of her *Husbands* Rights, cause obedience is better then sacrifice, and for that she is not a *self-power*, as is a *Widow*, who may vow, and if vow, must perform; but a *Wife* might soon be-head her *Head*, with such pretenses and licenciate services, &c. so nor can Magistrates, Governours, nor any Powers make a vow, promise, or covenant amongst our selves, but if it prove endangering or destructive to the Publike, which is our Lord and Husband, and the supreme *Lex*, to which we are subordinate, but it may be renounc'd: In our own concernments we may promise, vow, and keep, else not, and yet not destructives, or endangerings to ruine, but what have we to do to binde others, how then our Soraigne the Publike, whom we are bound to unbinde,

But who shall judge of all, is a main question.

83. This (hitherto) hath been a troublesome and puzzling question; and the *Questionist* applauds himself for wise, learned, knowing, and able, though a weakling, if he can but pose his *Adversary*, who might have posed him, had he first asked the *Question*, however both sides are *Dilemma'd*, and stand postur'd like *Lots* Wife, or as two silent Statues, &c.

Now

Now seeing none of our *Magies*, either of *Layicks* or *Levites*, *Lawyers* or *Gospellers*, of any kinde, name, nature, or degree, no not the occularly conspicuous *Cardinals*, as call'd; nor the notion'd, sublime, or Seraphick *Doctor*, nor the *Sentential Master* have resolv'd this, since the world was a world, so that it still puzzleth all sorts; it falls to the share of the poor and illiterate, and therefore despicable Carpenters son to essay it, and so to venture beyond his *Ne plus ultra*; which he doth, as so constrained ——————— Courteous Gentlemen and Readers, both this, and divers other things in this book with an awful remisness, and a wary fear; wherein if he err, or fail, so might, so do the *Cardinals*, and the *Seraphicks* aforesaid, and in this they are *errant*, in that they attempt not at all to give satisfaction, also not sufficiently (being *Magies*) to quit dis-satisfaction.

I have heard them thus notion'd, but never read any of them.

We say then as followeth,

1. *Law*, and *Lawyers* are conclusive Judges of what is within the circuit and precinct of their *Jurisdiction*, yet Appeals may be to Higher Courts, or to the *Chancery*, or to the highest Judge, or Lord *Chancellor*, at Sect. 3. 5, 6. following; and again, for judgment on any of their judgements, see Sect. 7. except taken out of their hands in season, and referr'd, &c.

2. *Arbytrators*, or any trusted or referr'd to, though injudicious, yea injurious, are yet concluding Judges; yet we may as at first judge of their judgement, &c.

3. The *Parliament* are concluding Judges (when in being) for the *Publike*, and for particulars also, if referr'd to, but all may as at 6, 7. on their judgements.

4. Yet any who is impowered, or hath power, and will conducingly and savingly improve it, as did *Moses*,

ses, so according to our cautions is a *Judge*, a *Magistrate* for the *Publike good*, in opposition to any indangerings, or too much sufferings by or from any; and who shall *Judge* of this, see Sect. 6, 7. both for conclusive and inclusive judgings, &c. in short, Power will be Judge, concludingly; but ought not abuse their power, yet they may be judg'd on.

5. The *Parliament* not being, then the *Highest publike Magistrate*, *King*, or *Protector*, as you please, with their wise and faithful Councel (if for the *Publike*) are Judges conclusive, so for *Individuals*, if he please, yet according to *Law*, except referr'd to; or if Law be Lawless, as dubious, or its Letter ridged, against just necessity, or right Reason, he as highest Lord Chancellor, with his wise Councel, may catechise and chastise it, and always accept its dubious acceptations, with the humanest constructions; for such is or should be Lawyers and Laws ayms, and intentions, for such are their pretensions, &c.

6. Just necessities (*private* or *publike*) allow any man, yea a *servant* over his Master, to turn *Judge* and *Magistrate* for the present, if he will venture to put himself on the judgement of *Law*, and its Issue, or refer himself to those it concerns, to suffer if he have offended; here it concerns him, or any one, well to open and state their cause apparently in each particular, and so refer and appeal, or abide the Tryal, and its issue; or who hath power or might to act so, ought state his case rightly, and then appeal in point of Right, as at 7th.

7. Note, all *sorts* may from all concluding *Judges* of what name, nature, kinde, or degree soever they be, appeal for judgement of their judgements, so for any actions, doings, things, sayings, or censures, judge-

ments

matter of opinions, or disputes, or controversies, to any one, or more, or as we please, or universally to all honest, rational, good, wise, and just men, of judicious understandings, to see how they will judge thereof, though we should be concluded as afore; and this is as much as can be had.

8. Any one in their own concernments, though injudicious, is a conclusive Judge, but any one as at 7. may judge of his judgement.

9. But as more, or the Publike are concern'd, then the Publike Magistrate for the Publike and for Privates the Law &c. as at Sect. 19. except they refer, are Judges conclusive, yet any may, as at 7.

10. The Highest *Judge*, who (like *Moses*) makes other Judges to present him, and to supply his place as a *Judge*, for he judges by them, sure he is a conclusive Judge then, as was *Moses*, cause you cannot go higher then the highest, and may if he please, personally judge all, yet as at 5. afore, &c. So will he also hear the advice of those Judges or Councellors, and from all, gather whats uprightest and best, the best he can, &c. and though in the integrity of his cause and proceedings he may like God at Sect. 89. appeal, yet will he not (if wise) dispower himself till secure, if then.

Thus, we may hear, and be heard, and judge of one anothers judgements, though not conclusively, for the conclusive judgements are as afore.

Now if the highest Judges at Sect. 3. 5. 10. deal amiss with us, I know no better way to do good on them, safely and securely, then as at Sect. 1, 2, 4. but if subordinates abuse us, then to appeal to superiors, or to the supreme, as the *Chancery*, or the *Lord Chancellors*, at 3. 5. 10. afore, &c. and from thence to Sect. 7.

Accord-

According to this the Master of a Family, though his Wife, Children, and Servants, should have right on their sides, in point of reason, or the rationality of their judgements; yet his reason and judgement, or if you will call it, his Will and pleasure in his own concernments and affairs (as having right, justice, and equity on his side) shall stand and conclude things for ordering and disposing, thus if he build a house, he may hear the judgements of the aforesaids, or of any one, and it may be they may be more rational then is he, but they sute not with his mind, will, nor way, so he will have it built to his own content, and this is his right and due; the like of any thing, as one is self-ly or principally impowered, and concerned, and that Law checks not; and if this Power were not, there would be no end of things for disputes, oppositions and reasonings, also authority and propriety would be overthrown; for if rational Right should carry it against righteousness, as against the rights of dues, justice, and proprieties, witty children and servants, so divers others might sometimes rule and govern their wiser, or however, their more just Governours, and have their will and way in whats their Parents, or their Masters, or the Magistrates, or anothers proprieties and rights to order and dispose, &c. cause their judgements may chance to be better, though worse, or not so good, as overthrowing justice, authority, and propriety, to a confusion of all, as is already done in most houses, where under pretence of a Religious Conscience, the witty and wily Wife, Children, and Servants, go several ways, and leave the weak Master masterless, but let all such know, that the Master of a Family, though he have failings, is King and Priest in his own house, to order

As not knowing his power & place.

der &c. and he is a Judge and Resolver of Conscience also in all indifferents in Religion to his own family, only Fundamentals must stand firm and fixt on all sides, *&c.* but this is no place for this, but its worthy of a place and setling right, else it will unsettle Government, for the witty Govern'd will somtime govern their wiser Governors, which must not be, *&c.*

Note, None are concluding Judges where things come not under their command, nor are referr'd to them, though it be apparent that right is on such side, Yet the Antagonist may still vie it out, thus, two dispute, but it relates to no concluding jurisdiction, and refer it they will not, so the apparently vanquished (though justly concluded against) yet cannot be concluded by any, but he may still *vie* it out with his Antagonist, if he will, wilful it, but his Adversary (though the other will not) may appeal to all ingenious and rational spirits, and so rest satisfied, and answer the fool no longer in his folly. Thus much in point of Judging. We go on.

88. *Law*, the highest Governour is bound to, as he is only self-ly concern'd, except justly necessitated, which quits any one as well as himself, but as the *Publike* is concern'd in him, or any, or alone, he is not bound to it, for the *Lard* of the Law is Lawless.

89. If the Universal Publike Governour pretend, judge, or deal amiss, or contrary to his Be-trust, its well, but what shal we do with them more then with each poor Arbytrator, so with Lawyers, Clergymen, Physitians & Chyrurgions, who some of all of them at times * abuse

In points of Trust, as by their ignorance, carelesness, and unfaithfulness, so also by some of thē in their intentional making preys and prizes on us, most cruelly, oft beyond Tyrants, &c.

ns as much, or more, as oft to loſs of life and eſtate, and our ſouls alſo; all which by ſo doing, forfeit their Be-truſts, and ſo their reputations; and yet we go on in truſting: in ſhort, we ſuffer more by them, yet ſay leſs.

Truly I for my part know no better way for the *People* to deal with the higheſt *Governours*, then as I ſhall ſet out at the concluſion of this Book; nor for Governours that are of honour and integrity, then nobly for their Honours ſake to do as did *Samuel* of himſelf (for he was not call'd to accompt) nobly appeal to the people in point of his uprightneſs towards them, and they as fairly quit him: yea *God* himſelf alſo, for his Honour ſake, that he might ſtand clear in points of Juſtice concerning his dealing with his Vinyard, ſo with his people, ſaith, Judge oh ye Jews, or all, or any that doth, or ſhall hear and know of my dealing with it, and you, what more could I have done, &c. and what leſs could it do to me in point of retaliation? and yet it hath affronted me with wilde grapes for tame, &c. Alſo judge oh Houſe of *Iſrael* twixt my ways and yours, I appeal to you, ſo clear is my caſe, that I dare adventure to make the judg'd (yea my enemies) my Judges, &c. thus let Governours nobly ſatisfie the ſcruples of the People, &c. but ſee at the end of the Book this more perfect.

90. But lets ſuppoſe that the Parliament have not ſetled Cuſtome, Exciſe, nor Taxes, though I conceive they did all, ſo alſo Convoy and Algier money, &c. by Acts, Orders, or Ordinances, &c. and yet all is ſaid not no to be ſufficient for ſome ſudden and extraordinary Publike occaſions and exigents, &c.

&c. What's then to be done? The universal Publike Governour urgeth his want; its reply'd, it cannot be by reason of other, and the said great Incomes, &c. so its a pretense: next, you say, is the highest Governour Judge alone? For answer to both which, I send you to Sect. 83. Also its urged, that its against *Magna Charta*; see therefore Sect. 106. to 111.

Lastly, you say, that a *Parliament* must be call'd, &c.

To this I will now answer you; lets suppose the case is sudden and desperate, &c. as that the *Hollander* is now in the *Downs* with a mighty Navy, and our Sea-Forces unready, or abroad, &c. And the Scots King hath a great Army with him, and thereon, that all the Factions in *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, do or will Arm it past disarming, if not seen to in season, &c. and Treasure is pretended to be wanting, and all are so divided, they know not which side to appear on &c. Would you now dispute about Laws allowance, and ceremonial ways of proceeding, so about Parliaments, when dispatching is most necessary to prevent our *Dispatching*; who on this sudden and desperate accident is Judge, say ye? who will you apply to, say I, to take a course to oppose them, but to him who hath the universal Power in his hand, though he were an Usurper, yet no destroyer? For who else can, or who else dare (he being in Being) assume the Power? What course will you take on such exigents, or on some hardships or ill usage? Keeping to our Cautions, that is, to take heed of endangering the Nation to ruine by oppolite Arms, &c. Can you take a better course then

the concluſion of the Book will afford you; or as we do with Arbytrators, Phyſicians, Chyrurgians and Lawyers, on like exigents; whom wee can onely with good language, move to be faithfull to their truſt, alſo juſt and humane, and ſo to maintain their honours and reputations, and then adventure their killing and undoing of us.

I have ſuppoſed as afore, on purpoſe to ſee if on any occaſions, or exigents, you will allow the governor & his wiſe-counſel without a Law, yea againſt it, ſo without a *Parliament*, when it cannot be timely call'd to be Judges, or take a courſe to ſave you, and us all, as they can; if ye ſay no, then wee may bee loſt by diviſions and forreign oppoſitions; if ye anſwer yea, then ye grant as much as I deſire; that is, exigents and neceſſities may be, or may be pretended, though you and I diſcern them not, and that the Governours muſt be truſted, and ſo muſt, yea ought, without Law or Parliaments, *&c.* ſave the people as they can, & for his pretending right or wrong, I have, and do ſend you to *Sect.* 124. and if ye have a better, a wiſer way on pretences, ſurpriſals or exigents, *&c.* ſhew it, and we comply, *&c.*

91. The intention of Laws, is to ſave us, and do us good, if the *letter* and intention claſh, which will you cleave too; for to *contraries* you cannot, and to *deſtructives* you ought not, make the *Laws* then, Oh ye Lawyers, more wiſely and in plain terms, that admit not of ſuch doubtfull and betraying conſtructions, that ſo we may not be befool'd, nor deſtroy'd by them, nor you.

Object. 94. If thus as afore, ſay you, why then was the King call'd to accompt? why ſuffer'd he, *&c.* for he had his pretences, *&c.* *Anſ.*

Anſw. Truly, if we had not had a viſible, authority, and powerfull *power* to deal with him, wee ought to have ſuffered according to our poſition, rather then indanger our Country to ruine, but the whole Nation, who ſent up the *Parliament*, and were bound in *Honour*, *Honeſty*, and *Conſcience* to ſecond them, and were ſatisfied about ſeconding them, came up by hundreds and thouſands, &c. offering to live and die with them. So that to my ſeeming, we made it hazardable and doubtfull, by dallying with him; for I conceive he might eaſily have been ſurprized long afore, but wiſe and juſt policies might prolong it for uſefull ends ſake. So I may be deceived, therefore will not deceive, ſo I judge not.

95. But as there was a viſible, likely, and an authoriſed able *power* as afore, in likeli-hood to carry it, without ſuch indangering to ruine, *&c.* ſo there was cauſes proportionable for ſuch procedure, as ye may find in the L. Chief Juſtice *Cook's* Kings caſe. But what likely and juſt pretence could the *King* have to want, and ſo raiſe treaſure, by ſhip mony, Privy ſeals, Pole-mony, and what not, hee was at Peace with all neighbour Nations, Princes, and States. So alſo within himſelf, ſo was not inforced to keep three *Armies*, ſo long on foot to keep three *Nations* from *Armies*; alſo to oppoſe *Forrainers*, nor to have ſuch forces at *Sea*, to oppoſe our many enemies that would have ſeiz'd on us, he was no way exigented ſo might take his courſe by *Parliament*, but have not we been ſurpriſed by the *Hollander*, and exceedingly exigented as unprovided? moſt of our forces being abroad, or unready, and a long time the contention

held, to the expense of much treasure; neither *Rupert*, nor the *French*, nor the *Brest men of War* medled with him; imploy'd he so many brave Fleets abroad, and that for useful, honourable, and humane ends and uses, as in mating the unmatchable*, and redeeming of many poor be-slaved souls, did Forraign Ambassadors throng in upon him as on us? who for the honour of our *Country* and our *Governour* thereof, must be answerably entertain'd, and so must those sent abroad, accordingly: And must not his Highness of force, though self-ly humble, keep such a state and port, as may keep up the *honour* of such a *State* or *People*, also his own *State* answerably, as the *Presenter* of such a *People*, so that nothing may render us despicable, but rather double respect, as was the *Sheba* Queens about *Solomon*; and though *Solomon* counted all things vain, it was but respectively, for he knew also there were other respects that rendred them useful; His *Fame*, as vain as it was by this account, yet made him famous, and did much conduce to him in points of fear, love, awe, reverence, and revenues, &c.

The Holander & Turk.

96. And what if our Countries, our Nations, &c. were called the *House of the North*, or *Nore*, or of *Great Britain*, as Spains is in a Bravery and Glory, only to out-brave, the *House of Austria*.

97. But if you be not yet satisfied about your Highest Power and Governour, his just Power and Place, as necessitated, though I conceive I have sufficiently asserted my *Assertion*. What say you to this of *Moses* following? Sure, you dare not question his Right of Governing and Judging, seeing God in the Scriptures appears for him, and against his

his opposers, so dare you not charge him as an Usurper: But if you dare not, I dare; and yet am I not insolent; for I can discharge him when I please. I say then, that according to the received Tenents of Usurpation, he was an Usurper; but according to our definition or right Acceptation, at Sect. 47, 48. &c. he was none, but very Authentick and Lawful.

Who is't proves *Moses* chosen Governour by the universal free choice of the People? If not, What was he then by your sayings? But ours quits him, and so renders him a true and right Governour, and a Righteous one also.

98. But you will say, he was chosen, and call'd, or sent of God, so no *Usurper*.

What's this to man, as to them who know it not? They had only *Moses* word, in his own behalf for it, except they would accept of him for his Miracles sake, which yet they car'd not for, as of God: For can you say that they entertain'd him 'cause of God? Surely no, they were not so *Godly*: For why then excluded they *Samuel* whom they knew was of God? Why outed they God himself in *Samuel*? *Samuel*, this stubborn, this rebellious, this stiff-neckt people, have de-thron'd, uncrown'd, and dis-sceptr'd me as well as thee: Sure, they that care not for God himself, care not for any sent from him; so it appears they entertain'd *Moses* only as a most hopeful Deliverer, and upon no other grounds, he giving good evidences thereof, by his wisdom, care, carriage, faithfulness, and miracles, &c. and the same grounds kept him in Government, for they knew not how to better themselves. So we say,

that

that *Moſes* was truly, juſtly, and authentically choſen and impowered, according to our Tenents; ſo that none of their choiceſt, or beſt choſen Kings or Governours, were more lawful Powers then was the unchoſen *Moſes*.

99. But we will begin with *Moſes ab origine*, that we may the better ſee the true ſtate of things, for our uſe. Its neceſſary then to take knowledge that the *Iſraelites* liv'd together in *Goſhen*, where *Joſeph* plac'd them, and not mixtly or ſcatteringly amongſt the *Egyptians*; ſo they had their own Religion, Laws, and Government, Civil, and Eccleſiaſtical, which they enjoy'd about four hundred years, till *Moſes* time; their Laws muſt needs be their *Magna Charta*, their Rights, Dues, and Priviledges, *viz.* to preſerve them in ſafety amongſt themſelves, ſo in their Rights of all ſorts, and to relieve them from wrong, &c. Theſe, none but impowered Powers by choice and conſent, might juſtly invade or evade, by adding to, altering, or taking from, except with our cautions, which it may be they were not capable of; as are not many of our Pleaders for *Magna*, who are oft too *poſitive* and *abſolute*, and ſo indanger, or deſtroy all.

But when the Monarch *Moſes* comes, he ſeemingly heaves the Door off the hinges, and turns the Houſe out at the Windows, and like an impetuous Torrent, bears down their Laws, their *Magna Charta*, and all things afore him; and yet he doth no ſuch thing, but bears up all: In their poſitive and literal ſtrictneſs he bears them down, elſe they might upon ſome emergencies or exigents, bear him and his people down; but in their fair and well condi-

tion'd

tion'd conducing Intentionally for the Publike good, he bears all up: So, what he in their positive exception suppresseth, to avoid suppression, he advanceth by wise *Respectives*, and so puts down *Solomon* the Wise", with the Wise. For according to just necessities, he invades, and evades Law, and so adds, alters, and abrogates, &c. and yet neither Usurpers nor Arbytraters it, as we have or will shew; for, all being perform'd, according to our Principles and premisses, he alters not their *Magna* in its intentions, but only in its dimensions, as contracting or enlarging it as it best conduc'd, and so bends and inclines it to just necessities inclinations; and in so doing, magnifi'd it and himself: Thus, as some of their priviledges by reason of their weaknesses or wilfulnesses in their journey, might prove offensive to them, he contracts them & so enlargeth their liberties and priviledges in binding them; for, its a freedom, a priviledge to be bound, when (if at liberty) we would mischief our selves; thus, our Chyrurgions to free us, binde us, and our Physitians do almost kill us, to keep us alive, and make us live: So, their right Priviledges would have wrong'd them, and it was some necessitated wrong'd doings (enforc'd by themselves) righted them at that time, & in that condition.

Moses *was wise, Solomon wisty.*

Circumcision it self, their most essential priviledge, and the flower of their Crown, or *Charta*, &c. was circumcis'd; and though in its nature seemingly most unseemly, savage, and severe; yet as it was enjoy'd and enjoyn'd, it was their only badge, mark, or character to distinguish them from Heathens and Pagans, and so render them refin'd, as the People of God, so that a curse went on the uncir-

 cumcised

cumcis'd, and now it was a curse to be circumcis'd, for, for their forty years journey us laid aside, and so in that point they pass so long for Pagans: Their Law for Theft is altered to four-fold satisfaction, or servitude; so they hang not, as do we, but reserve their Delinquents for useful service, private or publike; yet to give the privated satisfaction, which done, they return to themselves, and are their own men again. A most severe Law, or tryal for a suspected Wife is added, but seeing I cannot reach the reason thereof (though reason there might be) I compress, &c. and chuse rather to think, then to express my self impertinently, or to my compression.

These three are only instanced to make appear his self, (yet not self-ish) alterations, additions or abbrogations, as wise respective considerations call for, but infinite more of all sorts may be observ'd he made, for, as appears in *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy*, he new-modell'd their whole Government both *Civil*, *Ecclesiastical*, and *Military*, yet for the Publike Good, Peace and Safety sake, and not for any by-ends of his own.

I put all on Moses cause Moses to the people is all in all.

Infinite, troublesome, and chargeable sacrifices did *Moses* also institute and put on them, besides a world of other busying performances to take up their giddy heads in their long journey, enough to make *Loyalty* turn *Loyalist*, and *Religion* a *Rebel*; and yet these *Rebels* rebell'd not as yet.

Their Civil Government he wholly alters, adds to, or abrogates, as appears by his four last books, for as God did or commanded this, and that, so by their Religious or Ecclesiastical Government he doth the like; for he sets them a seventh

day

dom, with the other 3 commands, never articulately set or commanded afore; he also dictates to them the six last, which of themselves are Dictators, and so set themselves, but not their ceremonies; as *Reason* saith plainly, *Thou shalt not steal*, but it saith not so plainly, *thou shalt restore just four-fold*, so its disputable what Retaliation is rightest. The whole *Priesthood* were of his creating, and he maketh his brother *Aaron* a *Prelate*, or *prime Priest*; he robes, rayments, and ornaments him from head to foot, with taking Types, Ceremonies, and Oculars * to take the People; the lesser, the lower or subordinate *Priests* he also creates, principles, and lessons them (as he did their *Prelate*) of their charge, and offices, &c. and when he sees his time, he disrobes *Aaron*, and robes his son *Eleazer* in his place.

The Occults were laid up in the Sanctum Sanctorum. *where only the High Priest might enter.*

The Military Discipline he also orders & settles it in chief on his Disciple and Servant *Joshua*, and nothing is done without, or against his order, nor any thing left undone that he commands, or countermands. He punisheth to the purpose the 3 Rebellious Princes, and all their company and complices, for their bold prate, as, What hast thou to do with us thou Usurper, we know thy Original, and whom thou art? Art thou any more then a poor cast-away, recovered by accident, as if to cast us away under colour of saving us? Whence then these thy presumptions? In short, thou takest too much upon thee *Moses*, What? wilt thou who the other day pretended to be our Deliverer only, now turn our Goaler, and binde us to thy severities, some of them under the notion of Sacrifice? A fine piece of Hypocrisie!

Paintes, Nobles and Priests, so the Souldier and all sorts, obey him.

Num. 16.

pocrisie? What? wilt thou that wast against King *Pharaoh*'s Kinging it, so his Oppressions, Cruelties, and Tyrannies, also against Monarchy and Kinghood, or such Kingly Government, Wilt thou now Lord and Master, yea King it over us? for what Monarch or King ever did more, or so much as doth the Monarch *Moses*? Are we thy slaves or vassals that thou handlest us thus arbytrarily? for thou hast raz'd out our Laws, our Priviledges, our *Charta*, &c. and put what thou pleasest in their places, and if taken knowledge of, then thou punishest, or destroyest us at thy pleasure; witness thy massacring of three thousand of the Lords people at a bout, beside many other mischiefs done to us, &c.

Exod. 32. 27.

Again, thou hast under pretence of a Paradise, a Canaan, a heavenly Jerusalem, &c. brought us out of Canaan, as out of a Country that flows with Milk and Honey, to an Utopia that hath nothing in it of acceptables, but only of name, fame, and opinion; for not Egypt now, but this thy Canaan is our House of Bondage, from which would to God we were freed and delivered, &c. make us not blind *Moses*, cause we cannot see invisibles, which thou only as a *Magi* mayst &c. if thou canst: In short, come thou down to us, if thou wilt, for we will not come up to thee, &c.

Num. 16 13. 14.

But, seeing *Moses* though he did thus self-ly Monarchize it, yet it was not self-ishly, but for the Publike good, he still varying as necessities and conveniencies varied; so though he might decline Law, yet he vagar'd not therefrom, nor governed arbytrarily, &c. It cost these Rebels dear, as the ruine of themselves and their whole Families, as an exempla-

250. *Captains amongst them.*

ry

ry punishment to deter and awe others from the like attempt, and so was conducing to the saving of the whole Body, the Family, or House of this People, by lopping off a limb thereof, which else by such factionings and rebellions might have been endangered to ruine.

Nor did *Moses* spare his brother *Aaron*, nor *Miriam* his sister, but handled them severely for their severities to him; as in their daring to vie it out with him in right of Power, &c. As, *What? Hath the Lord spoke only by Moses? Hath he not spoken by us also?* See Numb. 12. so that *Miriam* was leprous'd as white as snow: a tincture that fairly set off her foul and black qualities; and the Prelate *Aaron* was put to the *Penance* of a *Palinodia*, or *Peccavi*. Alas, my Lord *Moses*! I beseech thee charge us not with this sin, I know we have done foolishly. Here's a great descention of a *Brother*, and a *Prelate*, to a Laick Brother. Surely, the Prince, the Monarch, the Laick *Moses*, was in Power, Place, and Nature, superiour to the Prelate *Aaron*: But now the * *Laicks* are a * *Lay* people, and the *Levites* their Lords, till some *Moses* be-meet with them.

* *Words of Contempt.*

He also commanded his Priests, the Levites, by his Law Martial, without Tryal, to kill and butcher their Brethren, and they obey, and so kill'd three thousand at a bout; and ever since, many of that *Tribe* have continued *Butchers**. *Exod.* 32. 27.

* *In their cruelties to the people.*

He inforc'd the People themselves also to drink the dust of their dirty *Calves*, though gilded, and of their gods, cause golden.

Thus, he hath the whole *Legislative* Power in his hand, as appears by all afore. He also self-ly judges

all

all for a long season, all on advice be made Judges, who were accountable to him, & yes in all those proceedings nothing for self-ends, but only as necessitated, or convenienced for the common good; for if Kinghood, Prelacy, or pleasures, or his own ends he had aim'd at in their delivery, sure, his Queen-mother *Pharaoh's* daughter, and *Egypt* for her sake, with his own wisdom, learning, and policy, as a *Moses*, would have gone neer to have King'd him, however to advance him as high, or higher, in all likelyhood, and that without any such sufferings, or danger of ruineing by so rude and boisterous a people; how then is *Moses* an Usurper? How Arbytrary in Government by the aforesaids? Yet I have heard, that *Machiavel* makes him both, though he be neither. But what may not *Much-evil* do if we undo him not? which we will if we can.

Never to a Queen as being a Kings daughter.

For should the People have had the Government in their own hands, and only ask *Moses* advice and counsel in point of their deliverance, or should *Moses* have taken any of them in by way of counsel and advice, *surely* they had return'd to the house of Bondage again; however, never to *Canaan*; for by dissensions, disputes, and contentions, oppositions, and contests, they would have destroy'd themselves in the way; so he was necessitated to Monarchize it, and self-ly manage all, as without the People, or their Parliaments consent, or councel; and yet he doth all things wel, wisely and faithfully for their good. And this may be his Highness's case at this time, why he dare not (as we are factiously divided, qualify'd, and condition'd) make use of Parliaments or People, in points of advice and counsel, lest contests and disputes

pures for self ends, and priorities of parties and places to rule and carry it, delay or cross all; and so his *Highness* is enforc'd to *Moses* it all along.

100. By our times Tenent also, *Joshua* was an *Usurper*, for he was only of his Master *Moses* making; nay, what will become of most of their Kings and Governours; *Saul*, *David*, and *Jeroboam* excepted, who were only authentick, according to received Tenents, as chosen by the People, as well as of God? For *Saul*, see 1 *Sam.* 9. 2. For *David*, see 1 *Sam.* 18. 5. For *Jeroboam*, see 1 *Kings* 12. 3. 20. *Solomon* was only created by his Father, the rest created themselves; for neither did any Law, or the People create them; *Ergo*, The People may (by our times positions and practise, as did the three Princes against *Moses* afore, and some of our Clergy now against his *Highness*) rebel it, and so most uncivilly, malapertly, and audaciously, mouth, and clamour it against their Kings and Governours, to the incensing of the People, and so to the endangering the Publike; also not owning them for lawful Powers and Authorities, the Judges, nor any can acknowledge, or act under them, but might (for good examples sake) had they Might, justly rebel against them, though to the ruine of all: A most judicious and Judge like kind of reasoning! Thus might most of their Kings and Governours have been serv'd. But our principle, *viz.* The *Safety of the People*, is of another minde, and flies to our cautions, as to so many Cities of Refuge, from such *Sinons*.

Yea, consider further, what abuses* some of the best of their Kings and Governours offered to the People, and yet our Principles and Cautions allow no

* *Besides their own personal vice.*

no ruinous rebellion, but only to proceed as we have cautioned, or as at Sect. 224. And we condemn all such actions, for all the greatness of the Actors, and say, they deserve thereafter; and its only *Salus* safety that saves both them and us.

Saul massacred eighty and odd Priests at a bout, and ruin'd their City *Nob*, with all the innocents therein, both men, women, and children. *David* make drunk, and then murdered *Uriah*, and ravish'd his Wife, and most unconscionably gave half of his endeared brother *Jonathans* son *Mephibosheth* his land, to his servant, that Traytor *Ziba*; and yet there was (I take it) oaths, vows, and covenants betwixt *Jonathan* and *David*, to be faithful to each others seed.

Ahab most hypocritally (under pretense of Religion, as zeal to the honour of God and his name) caus'd *Naboth* to be ston'd as a Blasphemer, and that done, stole his Vinyard also under the same *vizor*. *Solomon* also oppress't the People so, one way or other, as it obstacled his son *Rehoboams* Kinging. Yet the People wisely conniv'd at all in *Solomon*, so in the rest, rather then endanger the whole Publike by inciting clamours or rebellions, or any unseemly, malapert, provoking carriage or language.

What's a Libertine in prisonment to these, to Moses proceedings?

The three aforesaid degenerated Gentlemen or Princes, *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*, in these, & those particulars, were yet good Kings and Governours to the General; Must the *General* suffer or be endangered for Individual or Particular sufferings? Surely no, it must not; yet keep to our Cautions, and take your course, else keep at distance.

Said not *David* of *Saul*, though his enemy, yea,

and

and the enemy also of God and man, as to the Priests aforesaid, &c. *Weep and mourn O yo Daughters of Jerusalem! Weep and mourn for Saul, who cloth'd you with Scarlet, and fed you with* (Nectar and Ambrosia) *milk and honey, and deckt your ears with Pendants, and your Apparel with all kindes of pleasing Beautifyings, and amorously trimm'd your Tresses*; who also fought your Battels, and foyl'd your enemies, and lost himself to save you. 2 Sam. 1.

And for King *David*, a better, a more faithful, or valianter King or Governour, could not be to the Publike, then was he.

As for *Solomon* his son, though he opprest some parties of the People, in the Building of his House at *Millo*, &c. yet the generality had such Peace and Plenty as St *John's Jerusalem* promiseth to her Citizens and Inhabitants; for silver and gold rival'd it in number and weight with the stones in the street, and in value with new *Jerusalems* twelve gates, &c. Must these be made away for those? Must the Publike suffer for some Individual or particular sufferings; Your judgements, you wise and just men.

For the Peoples answering of *Rehoboam*, or his reply to them, it was not an unauthorised, nor an inconsiderable party that perform'd it, but was like our Parliament in nature, so in their power and proceedings with and against the King, for it was the act of the whole Kingdom whom they presented, and by whom they were authorised, who were in honour and honesty bound to second them, and they did so; *Rehoboam* also was not setled, nor as yet accepted of the people, who had thus reserved themselves, till

 they

they had found out his reserves; Heir to the Crown he was not, and nothing had he done by way of merit, and desert of a Scepter, so he could not lay any just claim thereto, and so they justly disclaim'd him, having a likely power to do it, without endangering their Country, and well he deserv'd it, that would so malapertly tell a whole Nation to their Teeth (he having no right as afore to the Government, but their good wils) how he would serve them: How could they do less having power, then desert and dispower him so? But had he been settled, received, and invested with the universal *abilitie*, or power, so as it would have hazarded the Nations ruine; sure, the people would (as did *David*) connive at *Joab*, and say, *The sons of Zeruiah are too hard for me*, so is the King for us: So *Saul* as wisely held his peace, when some of the people scornfully said, *How shall this man save us?* also *they brought him no presents*; Thus *Saul* and *David* kept to our cautions, else might they have been *cauterized*, &c.

He was but young in his Kingdom, as not yet established.

And though the Prophets reproved some of their Kings and Governours, &c. yet was it not in publike, as on a Theater or Scaffold, *viz.* in their publike Pulpits, which are confluenc'd with people, as is Cheapside cross, or the Exchange, and there malapertly, daringly, and contemptuously clamour, and exclaim, to an incensing the people, and so to an endangering the publike; but they perform'd it only twixt the King and themselves, or if in publike, yet respectively, in private, as not at their Exchange, so nor in such insulting and incensing posture and language, as afore.

All their *usurping Kings* (if you'l have it so) which were

were all but the afore Excepted, took upon them *Moses*-like almost, both in Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military affairs; their *Priests* they made and unmade *ad placitum*; the like of their Warriours of all sorts, as you may read of *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*, and the rest. *Saul* when he see any one fit for the War, took him to him, and yet no endangering rebellion ensu'd thereon.

Yet *Joshua*, *Moses* Minister or Servant, equall'd his Master in Soveraigaty of command, though an *Usurper* by this Times Tenents, as only invested by his Master *Moses*; yet was he obey'd of all the Nobles, Princes, and Peers, so of the Souldiery, Priesthood, and People of all sorts, without endangering rebellion, or irreverent and uncivil clamours, gests, or gestures: Read his Book, and you shall find this Servant, this Usurper (if an Usurper youl have him, though we say otherwise, as having the Peoples Necessities and Safety that chose him, and authoris'd him rather then fail to assume, to usurp and hold the Government, of, by, and from his Master *Moses* only, he ruling for the Peoples good, welfare, and safety, and not for his own by ends of any nature, in opposition to theirs) did justly master it, and rule over his masters, the People; yet servant like, for their service, as afore.

For, *Joshua* ordered the *Priesthood* and *Levites*, in all things else, and that self-ly; so that self doings, if *well* are well enough; for, the main is *well-doing*, *Well* is ceremonial to *well*, or the thing it self; Yet let *Ceremonies* be also observ'd if they may, with safety and conveniency, if not, *Circumscribe* them.

It true, *Joshua* came well forth'd and seconded

with Miracles and Wonders for his reception, equal in value and worth, though not in multitude to his Master *Moses*, under whom he was brought up, as was his Master under the Egyptian *Magi*; and no doubt *Moses* instructed him with wisdom and policy how to govern the people when he was gone, as not daring to leave them to themselves: But here

Some absolute certain way of safe Government.

wise *Moses* fayld in not providing *Joshua*, &c. but only a *Joshua*, &c. Let the siege of *Ai*, and *Jericho* to his rivalling it with his master in dividing of *Jordan*'s Rivers, Red Sea-like, with other Miracles that his Story or Book yields, especially his mating him in fixing & stationing the remote, the immense, the unbounded and unstay'd Sun in his impetuous hurry, and swift career, on his own Theater or Stage, only with a God-like command, as, Sun stand thou still, and stir not, &c. Witness for him, that he mated as afore, not only his Master, but his Masters also; yet by servanting it to them all in his administrations and services of all sorts of humanities, for their good, their peace, and welfares, &c.

All the People.

I am pos'd, so positive it not.

How punisht he poor *Achan* for a theftless theft to see to? For could *Achan* steal where he might kill? Ah me! yet it kill'd *Achan*, and infinite Innocents enough (did not our Principle forbid) to have rebell'd it, &c. But a wise, a wary, a *David*, and *Saul*-like connivance and complyance on any side, (where the sons of *Zeruiah* are too hard) prohibit such proceedings; yet the depraved of our Clergie, and wicked Laity, make a profession of such *Praise*, such *Practise*.

Lastly, What did any of their aforelaid Kings or

Governours afore-hand, for their King-hoods. *Moſes* excepted, who performed beyond exception, in their point of Redemption. Be ingenious then, oh you our *Moſes*, his adverſaries, and deny it if you can, hath he not *Moſes*-like, declin'd all Egyptian pleaſures, blandiſhments, and delights, beſides ſafety, eaſe, and reſt, and put himſelf on all ſorts of hardſhips, dangers, and ſufferings for his Brethrens ſake? Hath not his limbs, life and liberty been engaged to diſingage us? Came he not ſeconded and fortifi'd with Miracles (for this our time) when miracles are miraculous, as out of date: Thus our *Moſes* mated *Moſes*, reſpectively, in miracles, though not in multitude, nor poſitively; I am ſure I have heard, This, That, and the Other Victory, hath been acknowledged miraculous, and of a *Divine* Dye, or the hand of God or a Deity ſeconding man; take it which way you pleaſe, its miraculous; either for man himſelf to act ſo, or for God to ſecond a man ſo.

Now if *Moſes* deliver his people with ſuch hardſhips and ſufferings each way, will you not allow him to preſerve himſelf and them when he hath done? Which he cannot do, but hazard both, if he ſhould deliver the Power out of his hand into theirs? For how knows he how it will be handled? He knows his own Power and Faithfulneſs, an others he could not know; But he knew well enough none was capable to that degree, therefore he is neceſſitated to hold the Government from the whole Nation and all their Governours, till he had tutor'd his ſervant *Joſhua* for that purpoſe, he alſo held it for their ends, not his own, except in part for his ſafety, with theirs; and it was a juſt and wiſe aſſumpti-

on and retention, all things considered. If you will say each one may pretend so. I answer, which answer may serve for all such allegations and sayings, as for this, they may so pretend, and abuse with pretenses, which I neither allow of, nor can help; but the Position as I have postured it, is in self right, though some do abuse with it.

As their Deliverer. Thus *Moses* was truly and justly their Lord* Protector at least, yea their King in nature, and point of Power, though not of grace; as wanting the beauty and glory of the Name King, and some other ceremonials and perquisites, necessary to opinion, but not to judgement; which saith, that its Natures, and not Names; its occults, and not occulars, entitle to the title King, &c.

But some trecherous and politique pretending Cavaliers or Malignants, would have *Moses* resigne up his *Militia*, his *Abishag*, or *Mistris*, to *Adonijah*; for it was only a Trust till delivered out of *Pharaoh*'s hand; as for future, they were resolv'd to protect themselves, or chuse their Protector. But wise and wary *Moses* did see, that this was but to dis-arm him, and then arm themselves against him; for when done, he was undone: For that now, Royalists and all sorts of Malignants, like the three seditious Princes, with their complices & companions, would have call'd him to accompt for executing their King *Pharaoh* in the Red Sea, and so un-kinging them for future, others would have had a bout with him for changing their Laws, and invading their *Magna*, &c. so for usurping the Government, though all for the best, &c. Others for tampering with their Religion, and bringing in a world of Novelties; and so creating

ting of Sects, &c. as they may please to notion them; and all sorts, for his inticing them out of *Egypt*, their *Canaan*, by his blandishments and flatteries of an *Utopian Canaan*; for to them the Wilderness (which was but the way to *Canaan*) past for *Canaan* it self as being out of hopes and expectation, by reason of their long, their tedious, and wearysome journey, of ever meeting with any other, being also tir'd with sufferings by the way, amongst the rest, the loss of their Egyptian Flesh-pots, and choice sallads of all sorts, troubled them; so it was much better with them when they were under King *Pharaoh*, or serv'd the Queen of Heaven, though in Hell, and sacrific'd to her, then now, as they are under their new sacrificer, their earthly Monarch *Moses*, whose Heaven to them is Hell.

So let *Moses* his intentions and endeavours be never so fair and good, yet if accidentals cross, he is crost; for like weaklings, they judge by accidental issues, and not by ingenious grounds, ends, intentions, and apparent endeavours, &c.

Their oft murmuring against him, as we have in part instanced, makes good these to be their intentions on him, could they with pretenses and arguments have argued him out of his Armor, or to lay aside his lance: But wise and wary *Moses*, though Dove-like meek and milde he was, and no Serpent, yet had a Serpent, and was himself Serpentine, so would not be outed by arguments, nor untruss, to be truss'd up, therefore held his power, for his own, and their good and safety, and so improv'd it, and abus'd it not for self ends.

Now whether the aforesaids suit with his Highness

ness Actions, Doings, and Endeavours, and his Usage by our seditious *Korahs*, *Dathans*, and *Abirams*, in their exclamations, censures, and trecheries against Him, cause of some crossing accidents and sufferings in our way to *Canaan*, so in their intentions on his rendition of his power, as only a Trust, for that now they would trust to themselves, and whether the intentions of those pretensions, reach not to call him to an account for all? As should *Moses*, had he been so mopish, I appeal; and so do I, whether they be not very good reasons in his Highness, as in *Moses*, to retain the Power, had we no other reasons for his so doing, but them. But I add also, that for his keeping the Power and Government with our cautions, I see not but that God and his Highness are incorporated therein (as I think I may make bold to say God and *Samuel* were) so that to clamour, except, or clandestine it, or to incense the people to faction or party it against him, and so against their Country and themselves, its like those three seditious Gentlemen or Princes against *Moses*, and so against God: so now against our *Moses*, as we have caution'd it, is against God; for we have prov'd him of God, and so of Divine Ordination, in his relation of right to the Government; so that out one, out both, in that point: And what are those that will out both God and man! But &c.

Now lets suppose that any King or Governour over us, should (which God forbid) *Solomon*-like, infinite it in Wives and Concubines, or like *Edward* the fourth, or King *David*, abuse their Subjects wives, and murder their husbands, or *Saul*-like, murder eighty and odd Priests at a bout, yet none of these

these particulars justifie a rebellion, to endanger any
quiet, nor to excite rude, boorish, and slow-with
clamors, or impudent darings, but only to re-
verend, peaceable and quiet information; for what
Prince, or Governour, or men of Power and Place,
can bear such insolent dares and threatnings to their
disgrace, whereas men of the meanest rank, though
faulty, cannot endure publikly to be made *Publicans*,
let each one examine himself, and he will find it an
infinite dishonour to bear with such Malapertness, as
if *rid*, which renders such Powers contemptible,
and invites rather to a stiffness to oppose, then to
hearken to by way of remedy; nor have we to do
with any in such a way, though we see (as in the afore-
said Princes,) such and such vices and failings in
some particulars, so long as they are in the general
good Governours to the People, for they are but
men in parts, though gods in place and power, and
they must have their grains of weight, as must mean-
er men, as they have greater Tryals and Tempta-
tions.

I will yet suppose higher, admit an honest Hea-
then, Pagan, or Atheist (if you will have it so) were
in Government, and dissembles a Religion, and
Zeal, the better to please, rule, and govern, &c. and
he doth govern well and justly, and gives thee thy
conscience, with our cautions against unconscionа-
bles under colour thereof, what's this to thee that
he is a Pagan, an Infidel as thou call'st him; to God
it is matter to none else. One hath thrown down
Baal's Altar, what's this to the *Bawlers*? who under
pretence for *Baal*, have their own base ends; for its
Baal is only concern'd, who if he be offended, knows

how to right himself. See then thou perform the duty of thy place, as at our application Sect. 124. also pray for him or them, likewise endeavour by thy good counsel, so thy precepts and practise, to settle in each one, love, obedience, and peaceableness towards him, for his humanities, goodness, and protection of thee, thine, and all sorts, as thy Native Country, &c. and for the care, pains, and hazards he undergoes for thee, and us all.

101. *Object.* But it may be said, to what end these stories of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Judges* or *Kings*, &c. What are they to us? we have our own Laws and Government setled, &c. and such and such priviledges agreed on, as they had not.

Answ. Yes, they are to us, and you have already seen it, could you conceive, or remember what ye have seen, and you shall see it to the full, if you can fully see.

We have proved 1. That neither *Moses*, nor *Joshua* were Usurpers, though not vocally chosen by the people, 'cause yet better chosen, *viz.* by some of our principles, as by the Peoples necessities, next, as taking and accepting, or assuming the Government, not for their own by, base, or unjust ends, but as necessitated for the Peoples good, & so improving their proceedings; and who doth as did they, are no Usurpers, nor Arbytrarie Governours, &c. Unjust Usurpation is to invade the Government, without so many of our grounds at Sect. 43. to 53. to 78. to 83. as will justifie the assumption and retention.

2. Admit Usurpers they, or any of the Kings were, yet governing well, or though somewhat amiss, yet not destructively; no attempts are to be made against

against them, to the endangering of the Publike, but application only, as at Sect. 124. For though *Moses* was taken for an Usurper by the three Princes and the Peoples murmurings and undertakings against him, you see how they were punisht for it, and that justly, considering he improv'd his best endeavours for the Publike good, nor were his neer relates, *Aaron* and *Miriam* favoured, but upon their submission.

3. Though as faulty as the aforesaid Princes, yet as *Jeroboam*; yet we say as next afore, that only sober, reverend, and peaceable Language and Applications are to be made, &c.

4. That on exigents and just necessities for the general good, as did *Moses*, when he durst not trust, nor use the peoples counsel in their delivery, or passage to *Canaan*, by reason of our Reasons afore, he was forc'd to Monarchize it, and so self-ly to order and manage all; and had he not so done, they had been undone. The like may other Governours on enforcing exigents do.

I grant such proceedings as at 4th to be amiss, were the People capable; if not, they are just and right as I have order'd and cautiond them, else not.

Note, what follows, is spoken as it relates to the Publike.

And now I will give you my judgement at large what's Arbytrarie Power, for I believe my betters every way are as bad as my self, if not worse, as, mistaken in it; and so shall we be in all things, if we call things so and so, and so let them go without further pursuit or prosecution of them, by distinguishing and distributing, so by defining or bounding, &c.

likewise if we indefinite it, when we should demonstrate, and universalize it Categorically for Logically, and so inter, as from the last, and so are off too late.

Arbytrarie power (you will say) is to rule by Will, and not by Law, but I say, this is not right, 'cause not rightly bounded and cautioned; for, you infer, that what's not of Law, is of Lust and Will in the worst sence, and it may so be, and yet also it may not be so; so whilst you neither define nor distinguish aright, you confound and destroy all.

By your definition of Arbytrarie Power, as afore, *Moses* is condemn'd, who is justified both of God and man, as you have heard; so also you condemn all proceedings, that are not according to Law, as if of lust and Will, in your sense, which is not so; for, if of a Will rightly rectified, and justly necessitated too, call it as you will, though a will it be, as not *Legal* Law, yet its in it self or nature a Law, that binds against endangering or destructive Laws self-ly so, or made so by accidents or exigents, or by the peoples pravities or weaknesses.

I say then, that to rule by Law (when lawless) is cunningly to rule arbytrarily, as by Lust and Will, and colour it with Law, against the very end of Law and Governours; and to rule by Will as we have caution'd it, is to rule by Law, though against Law, for its a lawful Will, as agreeing with Laws end and intention (though it fall out with its letter) which is for conducings to publike peace and safety.

If you shall still say, that this invasion, or that evasion or abrogation of Law must be with the peoples consent in a Parliament, I say so too, if it may be

be so, provided rightly compos'd and constituted; if not, not; but as we have said afore.

I say then summarily as full with, That *Arbytrarie Power* is to rule by, or to keep to Law, or Laws letter, when they prove endangering, &c. or not so complying to the Publike as others, except you would that the Publike should be endangered, or destroyed, or not better benefited.

Next, *Arbytrarie Power* is, to break, or not use publike benefiting Laws for the Publike or particulars their accomodations, but only for partial or selt ends sake.

Again, It is also to alter good Laws for worse, or not to accomodate with better if it may be.

Lastly, Its self-ly to alter good or bad Laws for better, without giving the people their due and right of honour and content by way of a Parliament, if They and the Time be capable thereof; if not, not; but this is a fair condition failing, if a failing.

Again, Law is self-ly absolute, and therefore as occasions oft are or may be, its very injurious, dangerous, and destructive. A

Reason is respective, and so wisely varies from Law according to just occasions, and necessities for Publike good, and so avoids what it can, such sufferings, and enclines to all conducings. B

To rule by Law then, if it prove as at *A.* is for ought I know, to rule like a Mad-man, or a wicked and wily Machiavel; as under pretence of zeal to Law, to act lawlesses, as things dangerous to the Publike: This is to rule by Will, and Lust, and cuningly colour it with Law, and so is arbytrary power though Legal. C

Will

Will therefore, and Arbytrarie Power (as you call it, yet) if qualifi'd as at *B.* is the only wise, just, safe and lawful (though not legal) ruling and governing. *See then to wise qualifications, and let foolish articulations and quarrellings go.*

Wrong grounds.

Our Position in it self is right, though any one under any colour or pretence should do wrong by it, either in degree or *Pedigree.*

Clamour no more then hence-forward, that this, or that is without, against, or contrary to Law, and therefore Arbytrarie, if our *Position* at *B.* bear it out, seeing it hath reason, wisdom, and the publike good, and just necessities on its side, and only ignorance and folly against it.

And except so qualifi'd, we allow no deviation from Law, but will that each Individual (but not the publike) suffer; and attend its alteration by wise *Suffrages*, &c.

But the *Law* hath held us too long from the Lord and Judge of the Law, to whom we now return to perform the remain of our Duty.

We say then, That

102. The highest Universal Judge, may, as I have in part said afore, self-ly judge all, but yet according to the Laws in being, 'cause they are each ones rule and guide, else they might be surpriz'd and betray'd, &c. But he being the highest Judge, is a Chancelor also; and as he may create a Chancery, so may he self-ly Chancelor it, and check the ridged letter of the Law for its intention, which the subordinate and substitute Judges cannot do without appeal to him, or license from him, from hence grows pardons, as the offence and offender may admit

mit thereof, which ask many considerations, why one for the same fact may be justly pardoned, and not another; as this for one of them, as that he hath been very faithful and serviceable, yea a deliverer of his Country, or as his life may exceedingly conduce thereto, and our Country would suffer much to lose him; but the Truth is, here are more considerations to be had, then I can now consider of.

103. So all publike Offices that relate to him, he must self-ly perform, or see perform'd, and he ought also to call them to account about their faithful discharge of them to the people, or to him for the people, also to hear the people if he can, in their appeals, and punish their abusers, &c. and this is *Moses*, yea King-like. King *David* descended to hear the tatling *Tekoite*; and his son *Solomon* the two Huzzies, the *Harlots*.

Surely the Judges in difficulties of Law, may not self-ly resolve it, but as *Moses*'s Judges, who it may be might some of them, and in some points, be as, or more able then *Moses*, yet, as it was dubious, and so too hard for them, *Moses* (as *Joab* to *David*) must have the honour of it, by acknowledging it his right of place, so as if of ability, though sometimes not so able, so that he with them, or any other of his wise Counsellors, may, resolve it, though *Moses* self-ly resolv'd all.

104. Certainly, it concerns the highest Governour, who is Judge of all, and should (could it be) judge all, it concerns him, I conceive, to be an absolute rationalist, for that reason is the intention of Law, and the Gospel also, though some Lawyers and Gospellers oft reach it not; but being so, where

Law

Law fails, or is dark, obscure, or ridged, yet right reason will reach it: and if he be not strongly rational, the Lawyers, but especially the Gospellers, will be too hard for him, and ever and anon surprize him: one, with, this is Law, that, not; also, here is no Law for this, and here is Law against that, &c. and those of the depraved Clergy will with their wyles, Metaphysicks, and Supernaturals beguil us, and out *Phusis*, Nature, and Reason, and grace also; but they ought not, nor shall, &c. for we shall (I hope) finde *Commensurators* for all, let them commence as high as they can.

But Magna Charta *is pleaded in behalf of our Priviledges, so Law also.*

106. This *Magna* &c. I never read, but now I will read somthing of it, yet by imagination only, and when done, answer them, and by that, answer all as are so condition'd, the rest will answer for themselves.

This *Magna Charta* is Law, and Law is in part already resolv'd, and here the rest shall. Suppose then as followeth.

107. That the People did well and wisely make sure work for the priviledge of call ng their Parliaments once in two years, and to sit till such or such a time, and this they claim still, & except, as wrong'd, and a great piece of injustice, and breach of trust in the Governour, not to make good the same.

I answer, Are we in the condition we were? will our present condition allow thereof? If we were as we were, it were claimable, but not as we are. The King, Peers, Prelats, and Priests of all sorts, had their places in Parliament, or priviledges to their minde,

hands, and so had Lawyers also; so when Parliaments were call'd, they need not faction it for their places, being already plac't, and that in great pomp, power and command, and question'd not their security, they were so secure, till at last *Elihu*'s little dark cloud appear'd, whose expansion and extension, they foresee, would cloud their whole Heaven of glory, and render it dark and despicable: But now every Parliament is packt and compos'd on purpose, of several parties, for the restauration of the aforesaids: Also the Priests of all sorts sect it, so do all religious persons faction and party it; yea, the several Churches clash: so that the distinct Bodies of Parliament and People, make one Body of *Dissentaneis* or things divers, and some of absolute contraries: so that what by the weakness of some, and the wickedness and wilfulness of othersome, and the ignorance of most, time is lost in confounding contests: Also Religion's rigidness and *Mesmbrian* intricacies are too hard for most of them, so for all sorts, and doth more confound and trouble, then doth *confusion* it self.

The infinity of Sects and Opinions makes good what I say, which to dissolve, is more then an *Herculean* labour, and asks time, till the dissolution of *Time* to end it.

A wise Governour seeing this, and that the time present is not as that past, so that the aforesaid considerations will not allow the calling of a Parliament, by reason of over-powering factions, to the endangering the peace and safety of the People, which his place, trust, charge enjoyns him to prevent, so he cannot give way thereto, else would; for its

not now a liberty, but a bondage; and so is contrary to his end of a faithful Governour, and would you have him faithless, and act contrary to his end, as to endanger? &c. I hope no.

108. For the aforesaid reasons, as by you constrain'd, he is forc't to supply Parliaments by himself, and by a wise and faithful Councel, so by Proclamations, Orders and Ordinances, yet all in a safe way, also ready, quick and short, without loss of time, yet this lets not the Countries from presenting useful's to him and his Councel, making them clear, without scruples, the which no question but he will, as occasions will give way, take into consideration: This being so, what cause of complaint have you against him, for that which your selves are causes of? reflect then as well as prospect, and so you will see that your errors are *errant*.

Thus *Magna Charta*, and Law, and these our priviledges (I conceive) are answered, and provided for.

Suppose next, that neither

109. *Magna*, nor Law will allow pressing of Souldiers, &c. only beat the Drum, and so take all that will come, &c.

Answ. But suppose none come, or very few, and so, much short for number and fitness for the occasion; for the whole Land being Sects, Parties, and Factions, none it may be will come, but such as are for, and so like of the Designe: But these will not go against the King, nor those will not go for the Lord Protector, they own not the Power, nor the cause, &c. All which we have now satisfied. The Sects also oppose one another, and only side with themselves, What now shall we do? Admit we are exigented,

and

and the Magistrates wisdom and faithfulness enjoyns him against all dangers and sufferings of the People, and to all accommodation, and his honour lies thereon, but *Magna Charta*, and Law, will not allow thereof; so he must sit still, and see *Magna Charta*, and Law, destroy his Country, by giving way to Insurrections, and forraigne Invasions, as wanting Souldiery to make opposition, Can Law or Lawyers answer this? No, no, our principles, and Positions (sure) are too hard for them all: Save the people any way then, oh ye men of Might, though you destroy the Law, and &c.

Thirdly suppose, That

110. *Magna*, and Law, &c. will not allow Taxes nor Sesments, nor to raise money or means any way, without a Parliament, &c. yet the Governours place as afore, is to save us, which he cannot do, for our great Priviledges by Law, *Magna*, &c. is to destroy us rather, by not allowing such savings, though on exigents; for this see Sect. 113. and be satisfied.

111. What need I instance more? this foot of *Hercules* hints to you what his whole body is, and so how to shape his garments for him.

112. The priviledges of *Magna*, &c. I allow of and claim, as we are capable of them, but we disclaim them, and must be allow'd to provide against their malignity; if saving *Magna Charta* (through our failings) on exigencies will destroy us, as afore is instanced.

113. Now if the highest Judge who is trusted to the uttermost of Trust, shal press for, or take course for means, beyond what Law hath provided for, and

shal urge the publike occasions for them, and addresments are thereon to the Judges, to know the Law, sure, I conceive the Judges are quit, if they comply to the highest Judge, as if to *Moses*, and make answer, that the Highest Power is Universal Judge both of particulars, and for the Publike, as was *Moses*; particulars to ease himself, he hath made us Judges of, yet given us the Laws for our guide, and so not left us to our wils, nor own judgements; and this power he may at pleasure cal for, and place it where he please, the publike Power for judging and ordering, he hath reserved to himself, so we have not to do with, but we can tel you, that if it be demanded for the Publike, then by the instances at *Magna Charta*, its Law sufficient; for the Law is not above its Lord, the Publike or common good, and for the truth of his pretence you must not dishonour him with suspition, whom al the people have honoured with so high a Trust, and its conceived that he wil not so abuse the Trust of the People, nor abase his own honour: so as to trecherize it to them; so, he hath Law on his side, though Law side not with him, or be against him, as its for the Lord of the Law, and as he is impowered, trusted, and made judge of al relating thereto, and as his faithfulness enjoyns him; so for the present either comply, or address to him, as at Sect. 124.

Now because I have hinted that I conceived the best course to deal prevailingly and safely with those of highest power and place, &c. (whoever they be) is with wel and lin'd Language, and fitting addresments, &c. I wil here therefore for this once, individualize, and venture humbly to solicite his High-

Powel

ness

neſs in behalf of himſelf, ſo of our ſelves, with theſe poor following Lines of mine, til abler Pens ſhal undertake it.

To his Highneſs the Lord Protector.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

THat like as God deſcended to hear his ſervants, Abraham and Moſes, in behalf of himſelf, and his and their people, &c. and as Man (viz. the Syrian and Job their ſervants, and David and Solomon the Tekoite and the two Harlots) alſo deſcended to do as much, and ſo imitated God in that kinde, ſo you will be pleaſed to imitate God, and ſuch good men, and do the like in behalf of your ſelf, and your people &c. 124.

Your ſervant ſaith them, to your Highneſs, as Abraham to God, God forbid the juſt God ſhould be unjuſt: and as Moſes ſaid, Raze me out of thy Book, rather then thy Honour, thy great Name, or this Thy People ſhould ſuffer, for what wil the Gentiles ſay, if ſo? or, what is't they will not ſay, &c. to the great diſhonour of thy great Name, &c.

In both which ſayings they aym at the Honour of God, and good of his people: at firſt, that they would not have Gods honour any way to ſuffer, or receive the leaſt touch or tincture of any blemiſh or abaſement; but that as he is a juſt God, ſo his proceedings ſhould anſwer it, leſt reflected on him to his diſhonour: Next, they take care of their People and Brethren, and ſo preſs God thereafter, and God complies to them both, in both, &c.

Now

In point of power. Now seeing that by God himself you are a God on earth, these sayings Sir, relate to you also (as you so relate) in points of your own honour, so of your Peoples welfare, &c. yet know Sir, that the same God saith also, that you are but a Man, and like a Man must die; and man, Gods servant, makes bold likewise to say as much; and without either of their sayings, your experience (Sir) knows and saith it also.

Your servant doth then most humbly beseech your Highness (as Abraham and Moses did God afore) by all that doth or can engage man, or is neer and dear to him, and so prevalent with him, that for your own Honors sake, and next, for your peoples sake, you will hear him in behalf of both, and comply accordingly, or raze him out of your Book also, &c.

Of Protection.

First, That your great Name, Fame, and Renown, may not receive the least tincture, blemish, or abasement, but that it may appear clear, bright, fair and full to all eyes, and so may attract awe, admiration, and reverence, and conduce to a full heighning thereof, and that as well from Heathens and Pagans, as Christians, so from Forraigne and stranger States, Princes, and People, as from your own, that so of the Queen of Sheba shall chance to hear thereof, and so give your Highness a visit, she may double her devotions, and admiration of your wisdom and goodness, by your wise, just and well-governing, and happyfying the People under your charge; as, by accomodating them with what good Laws and lawful Liberties you may, and easing them of what pressures and sufferings you may also, and giving them fair satisfaction for the rest; and then may you Sir, like God, with much honour, &c. ascend in your seeming discention of giving accompt, which is rather wisely to call to accompt, by

setting

setting off your own Heroick integrity, so your Nobleness and Worthiness of minde and spirit, in all your proceedings, which are the Eagles eye, and the illustrious and all-seeing Sun's penetrations in his height of brightness: Next, in setting out your Adversaries unjust Retaliation by their insensibleness, neglects, and ingratitude; yea more, as by their rude, their bold, and uncivil censures, clamours, and exclamations of all sorts; yea, further or most of all, by their Clandestines and Treacheries of all kinds: And on these grounds you may Sir, as did God himself, appeal in a God-like posture, and language suitable. What is't O my adversaries of all sorts, that you can require more at my hands, by way of accomodation, then I have done? What less by way of offence? And yet consider with your selves how you have retaliated me! For what more wrong can you do me by way of Ingratitude, Neglect, and Disrespect, then you have done! and yet, more you have done in your bold, rude, and uncivil clamours and exclamations, &c. yea, the most you can do, in your Treacheries and Rebellions of all sorts? What less can you do in point of compensation, by ways of Honour, Love, and Service, then to do nothing at all, or what's worse then all, as the quite contrary, &c.

Judge then your selves, oh House of Great Britain, of Mine and Your Ways; Is't fair that you retaliate nothing for all things, or some things worse then nothing? As wilde Grapes for Tame; and Thorns and Thistles for Rose-buds and Violets.

Yea, oh unspeakable! Have you not crown'd me with Thorns and Thistles, instead of the flowery Coronets and Chaplets, of Myrtle, Bays, and Lawrel, acquir'd and merited for your sakes, and so have drawn blood both from my head and my heart. Hard usage. Grief at your ingratitude

Thus

These doings, your People shall meet you, as did Jephtah's daughter her father, with her consorts and damsels, triumphantly, with plaudites and acclamation of joy and praises, so with prayers for your long and happy continuance among'st them; and if your Highness please to approach your People, it shall be like the Summer Suns accession on Winters retreat; and your retreat Sir from them shall be like his.

Can you Sir, or any Governour, receive greater Honour, Glory, and Renown, or sweeter content, then by such Sun-like doings as afore on your part, and then on the Peoples part such joy and cheerfulness, with acclamations to you for the same, acknowledging you the Father and Sun of Great Britain, &c. Consider I beseech you Sir of what I say, and so leave your name renown'd, when you have left this transitory world, by immortalizing it as afore; and whilst you are here Sir, it will surely conduce to prolong your days, besides happyfying them; for who dare I or will attempt against such a Heroe? and yet truly Sir, there is no security in* security; for as our Saviour said, He knew what was in man, so would not trust him; So we know not what's in man, and therefore must not trust him, and yet we must; and not seem to distrust him though we do.

*Too much confidence.

But Sir, I am afraid that I have transgress both in quantity and quality, as failing of a fitting Dialect, so by encroaching on your Highness patience in prolixity in. Here then I period: And yet who can check and take off himself on so spacious and useful a subject? but I must and will. Only I do with all humility crave pardon for my failings any way. However Sir, they are of weakness, and not of wickedness, and I conceive it will be

now

mour your Highneſs to make the beſt of fair intentions and endeavours, and to pardon the truly penitent: And now I have done, only venture to ſubſcribe my ſelf

Your Highnes moſt humble Servant,

S. H.

Truly if the aforeſaid courſe and way wil not avail and do, I ſee not but that the Governour and governed, Prince and people, one or both are undone; for Factions and Arms uſually attend both ſides, to the ruine of both.

125. But I foreſee that there are ſpirits that wil object againſt what's ſaid in behalf of Governours in points of honouring, cringing, and bowing to them, ſo for entitleing, and Petitioning to, &c. and ſay, Why all this trow? We know whence Governours are; I am of as good a Houſe and Family, Name and Breed, as is he &c. They are men, and no more, if ſo much; ſtrip, and we are alike, or I may paſs for him, and he for me; into the world we come alike, and ſo we ſhall go out: Who ſhal in the Charnel houſe diſtinguiſh from Kings, Princes, and Peers, and other men? Nay, it may be mean men may paſs for the mighty, &c. Beſides, it prides the already proud, and it inviteth them to contemn their Brethren, who by Nature are alike, and in Grace it may be much unlike, as far beyond them, &c.

Anſw. I muſt and wil yeild to Truths, as that there are inconveniencies on both ſides; Firſt, Sufferings by the govern'd, by the Governours, as afore; ſo it ſhal do wel in thoſe that ſupply the place of Prophets, or any other, to ſay to them as *Samuel* to

Saul, 1 Sam. 15. 17. and *Nathan* to *David*, 2 Sam. 12. 7, 8. the Lord hath rais'd thee to this and that, also thou hast had, and now hast, and mayst have so and so; Why then thus? Why so and so? &c. And thus *memorandum* them modestly what they are, and whence, and whither they must, &c. and so caution them against contempt, and injuring their Brethren the People, and to al kinds of accomodations of them.

Next, these inconveniences following, fal on the Governours side, by reason of the Peoples ignorance, and want of self-government, *viz.* slightings and contempts, oft to disobedience and rebellion, to the ruine of both sides; so that Governours are enforc'd to use force, also publikely to *State* it, and to assume or entertain Titles, and al kind of specious pretenses, and awful presentments (though self-ly humble, and contemners of al) only to beget awe, reverence, and respect; and so obedience, peace and quiet; and to quit the contrary &c. And God in Scriptures allows of Titles; as my King, &c. yea of *Cyrus*, my King, mine Anointed; nay, God doth *hyperbolize* it, and saith of al Powers, You are gods; and if gods, what not in point of Titles, so of al answerables? As in *David* and *Solomon*, and divers others, both for State and Estates: As just and wise policies advise to for conducings sake, and against al unjust seducings, abusings, or betrayings thereby &c.

But none I say did ever Monarchize or King it as did *Moses*, though never King'd, nor Titled, nor invested by the People, yet sufficiently and authentically invested and authorised, as we have proved, and

and being answerably aided both from Heaven and Earth against his rebellious opposers, titles or specious taking or overtaking pretentments of any kinde, he needed not, having such chastising Miracles to attend him, as made him awful, and rendred him rather like a God then a man, in point of Power; for Thunder, Lightning, Storms and Tempests attended him from Heaven; and from Hel or the Earth, Earthquakes, Chasmaes, and Voragoes were at his command &c. These attract awe, reverence, and obedience sufficiently; so he needed not any other *attractions*, as Titles, or the Glories and Braveries of a Court; but where they are not, *Conspicuities* may be of consequence: For al Powers are not furnished with Thunderbolts from Heaven, as was *Moses*, so nor with Chasmaes and Whirl-pits from Hel, as was He.

Again, we bow and bend to al Inferiour Powers, with a reverend and humble respect, as to our Parents and Masters, entitling them according to their Relations, Places, and Degrees; also obey and reverence them: and as occasion is of gaining any favour, or to attain forgiveness of any offence, we beg and entreat, and bend also; yea and kneel it; and what's al this but in nature petitioning, the like to Governours, that yet are governed by the highest Governour; we stand bare, bow and bend, also petition them, and that with humble language and posture, answerable to their Places and Powers; as we would gain favours, yea Justice, and our Rights, &c. or to pardon our offences &c. Thus we do to Governours of our Hall-companies, so to the Lord Mayor, the Judges, and al sorts of Magistrates &c. and wil

you do leſs to the higheſt Powers? And if it be more, yet it may be leſs, and not ſo much by way of proportion, conſidering them with the Governours afore: Object no more then, but perform your duties by giving them their dues &c. And for any objection you can bring out of Scripture, as, you ſhal not affect Titles, nor give Titles to any man, nor call nor be call'd gracious lords; had I time, I can eaſily anſwer them by Scriptures, ſo by Reaſon, which is Scripture to the wiſe, and its in part done already, by what's done: Is not Sarah commended for obeying, and lording her husband *Abraham*? and yet they were conſorts. *Potiphars* wife preſerv'd her ſelf in al things concerning *Joſeph*, til her lord came home. What's due then from the remote in Degree and Relation, if *ſuch* Relates muſt ſo retaliate? Chriſt the contemner of Titles and vainglories in himſelf, as not of this world, yet ſaid, *You ſay well, I am your Lord and maſter, &c.* But I cannot further enlarge, and to the wiſe I need not, and to the wilful I wil not; ſo I do for this time period this point.

126. And now I wil make bold with a few words to all ſtranger Princes and States, Powers and Potentates of all kinds, neer or remote, in behalf of their people, ſo of themſelves and us.

To you then, oh you Soveraigne Powers &c. I addreſs my ſelf in theſe following lines.

BE pleaſed to take notice, that much of what's ſaid to his Highneſs our own Governour, relates to, and concerns you alſo; what ſo doth, you may more ſelf-ly apply; what

what not, pass by. However, I hope that you will find, that I have done you (not only) all the Right I can, but all that can be done you, Justice: So your Honours, and great Names and Renowns, enjoyn Retaliation answerably in points of Protection, and happyfying the People under you, that have denuded themselves of all their Powers, and invested you therewith, and by so great a Be-trust have put themselves wholly into your hands and powers, resting only on your Honours Nobleness and Faithfulness towards them; which to forfeit or fail of, I want expressions to say what it is: Let (if not a Christian yet) a Pagan principle prevail with you, for though delivered by a Christian, as by Christ himself, and so belongs to all Christians; yet its a Natural, a Rational, a Moral, and so a Gentile Principle likewise, and belongs to man as a man; so that if Religion will avail with you, so; if not, yet Reason and Gentilisme must, so you must of necessity, Do as you would be done to, and so retaliate rightly, as afore: Take heed, Oh all you Powers, that you Atheisme not the people by your Actions, which are seen into; which if you do, I know, and you may know what attends you. Teach them not, nor justifie them not, by your doings; You punish (and that justly) petty failings respectively, as Murthers, Thefts, Trecheries, and all perfideous dealings, &c. and render such base, and vile people: What then are your selves if you do the * like? that is, Take from, or oppress without * just cause? or bereave of Life, Limb, or Liberty; is't not murther, theft and injustice; and what are such by your own condemnings, and executing such? Is't not also an abasing your selves in your Honours and Renowns &c. by such dishonourable courses? as render you infinitely below your selves? Doth it not intimate

* Without our just necessity.
* Pub. like or private.

Atheisme

Atheiſme and Hypocriſie, to the ruining of Religion, and ſo your own, and all kinde of Regiments, if ſeen into by the People? For pious policies and Pretences will not alwaies hold and ſerve, if ſuch great depravings and prevarications ſecond &c. be like the Syrian (great Sirs) *adviſed by your Servant, and ſee you waſh in* Jordan, *and not in* Damaſcus *waters or rivers: Let it be your delights then, to delight and refreſh the poor ſouls that have reſign'd up into your hands; all that is, or can be neer or dear to man; as their Eſtates, their Liberties, & their Lives; for all are in your Power; yea their very Souls and Conſciences are in a manner at your command; for that extremity of ſufferings and torments may vanquiſh the moſt valiant, and cauſe them rather to venture on God then man.*

How can you hear, ſee, or know of the cries, lamentations, languiſhings and ſufferings of the oppreſs'd poor creatures, and paſs it by? Where is Senſe, Nature, and Humanity? How doth this anſwer to Manhood, ſo to your places profeſſions, and engagements? See then that you hearken not to Rehoboams *young Heads or Counſellors, but to the wiſe, the ſage, the grave &c. And remember what* Solomon *ſaith*, That Juſtice eſtabliſheth Thrones, and that Oppreſſions make a wiſe man mad; *its eaſie to infer then what the contrary doth, ſo what in time to expect. But I have done with this point, only conclude with* Lex talionis; Do, as you would be done to: *Elſe how can, or why ſhould you expect, but as you perform?*

127. *And yet, Oh you Princes, Powers, and States &c. though I have done, as afore; yet I have not done, ſo muſt begin again on another ſcore or account; &c.*

Be pleaſed then (great Sirs) *to extend your Scepters,*

and

and ſo allow of my addreſſment once more. I hope then that by this time, Oh ye Princes, ye are fully ſatisfied about the right of our Worthy Governour to the Government of England, *&c. and that your Peer Prince, as call'd, hath no right thereto, as having forfeited it; beſides all our other Arguments againſt him, theſe ſtanding clear without the leaſt ſcruple; ſure you cannot act or proceed againſt the light of Religion, Reaſon, Nature, Juſtice, and Rights, and ſo againſt God: I hope you cannot nor will not ſo abaſe your Honours, Fames, and great Names, &c. Convince us, Oh you Princes, Convince us, for thats Prince-like; and then if we comply not, you have ſome colour to compel; otherwiſe* Club-law is Peaſant, *and not* Prince-like.

We hope then, yea we build on your Honours Renowns and Noble Natures, that you will not under pretence of a Princes Right, unjuſtly invade or moleſt us, ſeeing we have diſproved it; which if you do, we hope our God will go along with us, as he hath done hitherto; and why ſhould you (Oh ye Princes) maligne or oppoſe a juſt Prince our Governour, whom you find by our Arguments not only worthy of it, but to have as great a Right to it: Sure, you are Chriſtians, and if not, yet you are men, you are Gentiles then &c. We ſhall deſire no more of you then of Gentiles, who by Nature knew and did the Law &c. which do you likewiſe, and then we have done, and ſo have you, if ſo you will have done; for I am ſure we may be ſecure; cauſe you may not by the Pagans or Gentiles Laws do otherwiſe then whats right, and ſo will not come nor ſend hither unjuſtly, or hoſtilely invade us; which if you do, we hope the God, the Lord of Hoſts will be for us, as afore &c.

Be adviſed and take heed (Oh Princes) what you do;

and

and know but the name of War &c. though your pretences seem never so just, will not quit your killing from murthers, nor your takings from, and spoylings, from Thefts; Here Lex talionis calls on you again, for your Renowns sake see you answer it: Had you just cause to invade and hostilite against us, and we would not give you satisfaction, I would not speak; but as the case stands I may not be silent. Had we just cause to invade you, it concerns you to say as much to us by way of satisfaction: but if we have no cause, its better for us to sit still, then rise to fall; its the like for you. And if any of your selves or your People should plot to assassinate our Worthy Governeur at all. How then our Arguments considered? Let those who have a hand therein know, that what they do, they teach to do; they justifie and warrant to be done to them by Lex talionis, so endanger your selves thereby; but Wisdom, Policy, Equity, Justice, God, Nature, Religion and Reason, so your Honours and Renowns, forbid to do, or teach such doings: and we conceive that there is not any of you will rebel against them all; so our hopes are (Oh you men of Might, Power, Place, and Renown) that you will not so abase your Honours and great Names, and so not act any thing that shall blemish, or stain the beauty, glory, and luster of your Renowns, but do as you would be done to, or expect to be done so to, by right of Retaliation. But on presumption of your Noble Natures, Honours, and Renowns, I will not presume any further to offend by prolix or tedious enlargement, except to subscribe my self

Your Majesties &c. most humble Servant.

S. H.

127. But

127. But leſt our other worthy Commanders, Officers, and Souldiery of all ſorts, ſhould conceive themſelves wrong'd, ſlighted, or neglected, for that all the brave atchievements are only attributed to his *Highneſs*, they having perform'd ſo worthily as they did. I do anſwer them, that I do take notice of their worthy and brave performances, and do here acknowledge them; only this place allows not individual acknowledgement by *Encomiums* anſwerable, which ſome able pen ſhould do wel to undertake: I hope alſo that they are not to ſeek, that in great atchievements, the honour and praiſe is uſually contracted, by attributing it to the General, or prime Commander and Manager of al, as being too hard and tedious to delineate each individual performance. And there is ſome reaſon for the aforeſaids, cauſe if things miſcarry under the ſaid General, in his management of them, though he fail neither in wiſdom, care, faithfulneſs, nor fortitude; but only ſome of his ſubordinate Commanders, Officers, or Souldiery do; yet the diſhonour is attributed to him only, and they go free: Retaliation then wil do him this Juſtice and Right, as ſo to compenſate him rightly for ſuch wrong &c. Thus the *Swedes* King, ſo the great *Alexander*, likewiſe *Cæſar* and *Spinola*, with *Scanderbeg*, and many others, did contract and magazine al the Honour &c. in their own names, which (no queſtion) ſome of their Commanders, Officers, and Souldiery had a great ſhare in, as helping to purchaſe it by their brave performances; and their Antagoniſts, *Tilly*, *Darius*, *Pompey* &c. loſt the Honour; yet it may be not by any failing in themſelves, but by the failings of ſome of their ſubordi-

nate Commanders, Officers, and Souldiery &c. or by some accident: And thus I hope the generous Souldiery of al sorts wil be satisfied, and my Readers also rest resolv'd &c.

128. I have now done, only I wil conclude *paradoxically*, as venture to entertain a hope beyond or against hope; as that the world is grown so ingenious that none will take exceptions at what I have writ, no, though I accidentally cross them in their private ends, as they cross themselves and theirs, in crossing the Publike; which in conclusion wil one way or other tend to individual sufferings and crosses; al which I labour to prevent, by endeavouring to prevent divisions and factions, so the raging and forraging sword, likewise fire and famine, with al kinds of devastations and miseries attending war; that so they may live in peace and safety, and enjoy one another, so what they have, with sweet and serene quiet and content &c. and if for this they wil hate me, I am out of al hopes ever to gain their love, though I merit it, for I cannot, nor can any expres love, care, faithfulnes, or affection, beyond the aforesaids: And now I have done, being come to *Hercules pillars*, or *Ne plus ultra*, my

FINIS.

POSTSCRIPT.

MY earnest desire to make sure worke before I end, hath begot these following Lines.

Its considerable, that the expression Parliament as ours of late are condition'd) is accepted too entirely, as if a fair and wel-body'd Unite, compos'd and made up of many Individuals, or Unites, in that one Body, as if also united in their hearts, judgments, ends, and aims for the Publike good, as are their presentments and pretences, and so were disclaimers of al self-ends, as they clash therewith; but we find it otherwise: For first, instead of the honourable name of a Parliament, which (if right) is their due, they are (if dissected) in the *general*, a composition of Sects, Factions, and Parties divided (in their seeming, entire, and united fair Unite, or Body) &c. who have their self-ends, in opposition one of another, and al of them in neglect and opposition of the general, as it affronts their particulars: In short, its like a divided Kingdom, and so its rather a Kings-Doom, then a Kingdom, &c. *Ruine of any Government

Thus considered, To whom should his Highness and the Souldiery have resign'd their Powers? Not to a Parliament sure in the right sense, but to a divided Kingdom, as to several parties and factions, to enable them to ruine one another and al of them the Publick, whereas the General and Souldiery preserved them from so doing or being so done to, for they would have fallen foul, or out amongst themselves, and contended for the Power, only to over-power the rest, and the Presbyterie were the most likely to

carry it, as to appearance the ſtrongeſt party, as the Lord *Fairfax* ſtory makes good, whoſe Principles are to *Print* themſelves, and precipitate al ſorts, under the notion of Sects &c. al which his Highneſs and the Army foreſeeing, how can it in Reaſon or Religion be expected that they ſhould ſo tamely deliver up their Power to ſeveral parties, as fore, al adverſe to one another, ſo to his Highneſs and his party alſo, and that under the notion and preſentment, as if to a Parliament rightly conſtituted?

Each party or faction alſo deſires and endeavours for the Power, only to overpower the reſt, &c. Do they not then juſtifie his Highneſs and his Party, who have it, to hold it, whoſe Principles are only publike, and ſelf preſervation; and his precepts and practiſe hitherto make it good? Do they not then condemn themſelves, for condemning him? I appeal.

Certainly, if wiſe each party were, they would be glad he hath and holds the Power; for ſhould he reſigne it amongſt them, it would enforce them to implore his re-acceptance thereof, to prevent the reſignation of their Lives and Beings, by deſtructive conteſts about it.

Parliaments (if right) I honour as much as any, and I know that there was in each of them many wiſe and good men, worthy of honour, which I may not here individualize; But what's this to the multitude, amongſt whom the honour and reputation of ſuch are loſt, as was Chriſt in the croud? And as are the reputations of many wiſe and good men, who ſuffer in and under the general notion of the giddy headed multitude.

I ſay as much by al notion'd Sects, Parties, Factions,

ons, and Churches, or however call'd, that there are many wise and good men amongst al sorts of them, but they are in points of reputation and distinction lost allo (as afore) in the multitude, and so suffer as much as the most insufferable amongst them.

But 'cause al sorts are to chuse of their Governours, let them chuse of the choycest, as of those so prais'd in Scripture, as afore: Let's know your minds then, whether you wil have *Moses* or *Joshua*, or *Saul*, *David*, or *Solomon*; whereof if you chuse, you know what to trust to by their stories; Be wel advised then before any of them be sent for, or else give God Almighty time and directions to creat you one.

Object. *But the Lord Fairfax deliver'd up his Commission and Power without all this ado, and no such Issues ensu'd thereon.*

Answ. What are Examples to Arguments? Are accidental Issues also grounds for wise men? And yet the Lord *Fairfax* might see himself, so his Country, and his Party in safety, for that he might foresee that the Power remain'd in the hands of his own Party, as with his Souldiery, &c. who sure would not suffer their General to suffer, as would not *Saul's* servants see *Jonathan* suffer; an example somwhat suiting with this: And this was no disobedience, 'cause such an obedience was not due.

Again, the Lord *Fairfax* might foresee also that his Highness was to supply his place, whose Wisdom, Fortitude, and Faithfulness, he might from experience be confident would secure him, as the Souldiery did *Jonathan*.

Object. *But his Highness was impowered only to defend, and not to rule and govern.*

Answ.

Answ. This *Hydra* multiplies in heads under various Visors, for expressions are altered, but the Objection is answer'd afore under other Notions and Rendrings: But we wil lop off this head also, and so I hope send the *Hyleding* packing. We say then, that the People impower'd the Parliament to rule only, and not to over-rule, but whether they kept to this rule or no, I appeal. So if it be the Parliament that thus object, we answer them by themselves, as afore. Again, we say, that it's not a right Parliament, but so many divided parties that object, and so its best answer'd by not answering. If any one party, or individual person object, we say that parties or persons are no concluding Judges &c.

But we have justifi'd the Power where it is, by the Lord *Fairfax* story, *pag.* 22. so by *Moses* story, *page* 54. *Sect.* 97. so his Highness own story, *Sect.* 43. to 53. besides divers other places, and lastly, as appears in our *Army Armed*, *p.* 9. Again, let any one shew me who it is hath right at al, or so much as hath his Highness, al things considered, seeing the King of Scot's race is raz'd out by the whole Nation, and so by every Individual, as by their Parliament.

But it's time I give over, having (I'm afraid) wearyed my Readers as wel as my self, as having surpriz'd them of their better pleasures, delights, and refreshments, so of their sweet retired Retreats; but I'le endeavour to make them amends by an ingenious acknowledgement, so also (if I can) by accomodating them with a more pleasing piece or subject, &c.

And yet I had need begin again, and write as much in defence of what I have writ, as it self is: For, *Forlorn Hope-like*, I have expos'd my self almost to the

enmity

enmity of al the world, except I have won upon any ingenious and judicious spirits, which are very rare to be found; I am then in thine hands Courteous Reader, Use me humanely and civilly, I pray thee, and I desire no more; and less thou canst not in justice do me: If then thou findst me failing, or short in any thing, or seest more, or be yond me, pride it not, nor contemn me, but know thou art advanc'd on our shoulders, so on others, and so hast thy prospect ample, clear, and fair about thee; and thy artificial *Opticks* and Prospectives also, to amplifie thy sight, and dispel *Opacity*. But wert thou hous'd in some dark or Prospectless ground room, and so must fetch in al by thy own natural Prospectives only, as by thy grasping and comprehensive understanding, as do Silk-worms and Spiders their curiosities, out of their own Bowels, then wouldst thou like *Job* in another case, see thy error, and cry out with him, Once, yea twice have I spoken, &c. but for future wil be wiser, and so compress or remiss it. But charm the Charmer never so ably, yet the deaf Adder wil not hear, &c. so if our Reader wil not comply to apparent Reason, then am I forc'd to conclude against such, that I have had to do al this while with *Ephesians*, &c. Note the next, &c. That 1 *Cor*, 15. 32.

The Epistle to Forraign Princes and States was writ as hints and cautions to them, upon hearing of the unheard of, barbarous and hellish massacring of the Protestant Waldenses, which through them strikes at all Protestants. Oh murtherous Religion, *alias*, a cunning Regiment under the name thereof! Be wise, oh ye Govetnours of all sorts.

VALE.

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